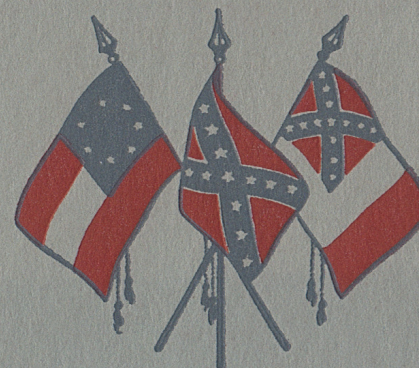


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CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL STUDIES

Number *Twenty-two*



The Confederate Veteran

By
WILLIAM W. WHITE

CONFEDERATE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
TUSCALOOSA 1962 ALABAMA

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WM. STANLEY HOOLE, *Editor-in-Chief*



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*Only four hundred and fifty copies of this book have been
printed, after which the type was destroyed.*

*To my parents,
William Henry White and Lois Davis White*

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Prologue

The Confederate soldier and sailor in the War Between the States, 1861-1865, have been championed in history, memorialized in stone and bronze, and immortalized in the minds and hearts of millions as the models of valor, military skill, and devotion to duty. But the postwar record of these men as veterans has been all but neglected. Now that the last veteran has "crossed over the river," it is fitting that that record be examined.

The first Confederate veterans were men who left the armed forces during the war for causes ranging from disability to desertion. However, with the surrender and collapse of the Confederate Army in early 1865 the mass of veterans appeared on the scene. And they formed "an evolution of a revolution," unique and alone as a new entity in the United States.

This study examines the activities of the veterans and attempts to determine the extent to which their actions influenced the course of Southern and national life. Primarily, the story is concerned with veterans as part of a conscious group, acting together in organizations founded to achieve goals peculiar to their status. The title itself—*The Confederate Veteran*—is intended to suggest the many as one, welded together and possessing unity and cohesion.

Because of a long-lingering sentiment, the subject involves delicate problems of historical perspective and objectivity. The veteran and his allies were so intent upon presenting their version of the war, its causes and results, that they tended to overemphasize needlessly and often to exaggerate. In this monograph an honest effort has been made to distill the truth from the facts and to tell the story, simply and fairly.

The author wishes to thank Professor Barnes F. Lathrop of the University of Texas; his assistance and guidance are largely responsible for all that is worthwhile in the work. Others who helped and gave invaluable encouragement are: Miss Margaret Pannill, Corsicana, Texas; John K. Bettersworth, academic vice-president, Mississippi State University; Glover Moore and Harold S. Snellgrove, professors of history, Mississippi State University; Joseph O. Baylen, professor of history, University of Mississippi; James H. McLendon, dean, Delta State College, Cleveland, Mississippi; Yvonne Phillips, head, Department of Social Science, and George A. Stokes, professor of geography and geology, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana; Lester Clark, Jr., Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Lieutenant Samuel P. Guyton, Fort Worth, Texas; Lieutenant James M. Young, Arlington, Virginia; and A. L. Weinberger, Lockhart High School, Lockhart, Texas.

Northwestern State College
of Louisiana

W. W. W.

CHAPTER I

Early Organizations, 1865-1880

BESIDES THE TRADITIONAL problems of adjustment from military to civilian life, the former soldiers and sailors of the Confederate States were beset by many new ones which stemmed from their peculiar status as defeated revolutionists. In the quarter-century following the Civil War, these men sought through veterans organizations to solve these pressing problems. The character of this movement was influenced by the conditions existing at the end of the war, by the men's attitude, and by their military background. It was also shaped by new developments—social, economic and political—in the ensuing years.

The War for Southern Independence was ended; the fight for survival was joined. The once proud legions of Lee, Jackson, and Johnston were no more. As one editor summed it up, "The soldiery of the South have broken ranks and grounded arms, and their only camps are in our cemeteries and upon our battle-fields which dot our broad land from Pennsylvania to Texas."¹ In 1865, as they returned home, the veterans found little to soothe the scars of battle or to assuage the bitter pangs of defeat. Accustomed as they were to winning wars, the lot of the conquered was especially galling. Their mental anguish was alleviated somewhat, at least, by the grand welcome extended them, for the women and the stay-at-homes outdid themselves in complimenting them while vehemently

¹ Wilmington (N. C.) *Daily Journal*, May 11, 1869.

damning the enemy.² But compliments, praise, and damnation seemed hollow and inappropriate.

Closer to reality were the death, devastation, and deterioration of war. These the veteran could see and feel. The hunger and the empty pockets also were real. The sight of uprooted social and economic systems, and the air of uncertainty surrounding political institutions now at the mercy of the conqueror inspired little confidence. Even to the unlettered veteran, it must have been evident that things would be different—slavery must end, Yankees would be in control, and making a living would be hard, at least for a while.³

Under such chaotic conditions the veterans' thoughts and acts profoundly influenced other Southerners who looked to them for guidance in peace as they had for salvation in war. Veterans naturally differed on many issues, but certain attitudes were shared by at least a majority of the group: they would faithfully obey their paroles and amnesty oaths, and quietly submit to the authority of the United States.⁴ They were tired of war, desiring peace above all else and, for the immediate future, getting to work to produce food and clothing for themselves and their families was of primary importance.⁵ For the moment at least politics and public life were unattractive to the majority of veterans.⁶ Believing that the Confede-

² Sidney Andrews, *The South Since the War . . .* (Boston, 1866), 396; Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (Cleveland, 1911), 714; U. S. 39 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. 43*, "Report of Benjamin C. Truman" (Apr. 9, 1866), 2; Whitelaw Reid, *After the War . . .* (New York and London, 1866), 138, 155, 295-296.

³ *Confederate Veteran*, XXXVII, 249-250 (July, 1929), hereinafter CV; Fleming, 653; Reid, 295-296.

⁴ Andrews, 95, 318; Charleston (S. C.) *Daily Courier*, Sept. 9, 1865; Aug. 27, 1866 (hereinafter *Courier*); Walter L. Fleming (ed.), *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (Cleveland, 1907), I, 228; II 332; Reid, 156; "Report of Benjamin C. Truman," 2; John T. Trowbridge, *A Picture of the Desolated States . . .* (Hartford, 1868), 188.

⁵ Andrews, 218, 356, 396; Fleming, 308, 712; Little Rock (Ark.) *Daily Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1865; Feb. 15, 1866 (hereinafter *Gazette*); Reid, 28, 206; "Report of Benjamin C. Truman," 3; Trowbridge, 319, 442-443.

⁶ Andrews, 356; Reid, 206.

rate Army had been whipped by superior numbers, but that the Southern cause was just, they accepted the issues of the war—those doing the actual fighting most readily accepting.⁷ They were concerned for their fallen comrades, anxious to honor their names, and to care for their dependents.⁸ They had no great love for the United States (the North), but they were ready to put the past behind, and to strive for real union and harmony. They had no apologies for the war, nor did a guilt complex trouble their conscience. The only real regret was that the Confederacy had lost.⁹ Naturally, their attitude was subject to change as new conditions arose, but these basic opinions constituted the key to their future action. The tone and pitch of the whole veteran movement had been revealed.

Within such limitations the situation was not conducive to an early, well-organized Confederate veteran movement, such as that which had launched by the more secure Union veterans. To most veterans, especially the fighting ones, the war was all too fresh to be glorious, too recent to be romanticized, and the old sources of Southern disunity still made for cleavages among them. It took military rule and Reconstruction blundering to bring a measure of unity to the Confederate veterans, as well as to the South. Largely due to the unfavorable environment, the great majority of veterans did not become active in any form of organization until the 1890's, although early veteran groups were formed as early as 1865 in some areas to meet urgent problems: the decent burial of the dead, the care of the families of the fallen, and aid to indigent veterans.

Many are the claims of this or that veteran group that it was the first formed in the South. Actually, a number of companies and regiments, recruited locally and representing a natural community grouping and spirit, never

⁷ Andrews, 318-320; *Courier*, Sept. 9, 1865; Aug. 27, 1866; Fleming, 308-309; Fleming (ed.), I, 66; Reid, 206, 322; Trowbridge, 188.

⁸ *Courier*, Aug. 27, 1866.

⁹ CV, VIII, 33 (Jan., 1900); Fleming, 308; Trowbridge, 188.

not till
1890s
many
more

disbanded except in a strict military sense, and that only because of defeat and the surrender terms. So universal were the needs, and so uniform the local response, that the reasons for organizing veterans' associations followed essentially the same pattern. The motives, which produced the first associations in 1865 and 1866 and remained valid throughout the 1870's and 1880's, were:

(1) *Charitable*—To aid fellow veterans who might become sick, disabled, or destitute; to give them a decent burial with full honors; and to aid the families of deceased comrades;¹⁰

(2) *Memorial*—To rebury the dead where necessary; to erect monuments to their honor; to care for their cemeteries; and to preserve memories of the deeds achieved by Confederate arms;¹¹

(3) *Fraternal-Social*—To preserve and to perpetuate the friendships and fraternal ties formed during the war through frequent gatherings of veterans;¹²

(4) *Historical*—To collect records, data, and statistics for compiling a complete and true history of military units, as well as a general history of the war, its causes, conduct, and outcome.¹³

These were the stated reasons for organizing. In any other land this might have been stamped as a dangerous and treasonable movement. Was this a resuscitation of Southern arms for a renewal of the struggle? On the

¹⁰ *Courier*, July 27, 1866; June 16, 1870; *Confederate Annals*, I, 33 (June, 1883); *CV*, II, 9 (Jan., 1894); *Confederate Veteran Association of Kentucky* (Lexington, 1895), 12; *Gazette*, Dec. 1, 1866.

¹¹ W. E. Bevens, *Reminiscences of a Private* . . . (n.p., n.d.), 55; Carrollton (Ala.) *West Alabamian*, June 16, 1875; *CV*, V, 195 (May, 1897); J. William Jones (comp.), *Army of Northern Virginia Memorial Volume* (Richmond, 1880), 41; Robert L. Rodgers (comp.), *History Confederate Veteran's Association of Fulton County, Georgia* (Atlanta, 1890), 7, 108; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXII, 284 (1894), hereinafter *SHSP*.

¹² *Confederate Annals*, I, 33 (June, 1883); *CV*, V, 147 (April, 1897); *Confederate Veteran Association of Kentucky*, 12; Jones, 44, 69; Rodgers, 108.

¹³ Carrollton *West Alabamian*, June 16, 1875; *Courier*, Dec. 13, 1872; *Confederate Annals*, I, 33 (June, 1883); Jones, 41, 44; *Gazette*, Dec. 1, 1866; *Proceedings of the Southern Historical Convention* . . . 1873 (Baltimore, 1873), 8-10; Rodgers, 102.

surface it might appear so, and uninformed Radical Republicans took it for just that. Perhaps only in the South could allegiance to the newly-preserved Union and devotion to a revolution that failed be so nicely balanced as to seem perfectly logical and even patriotic. These openly stated purposes made it clear that the Confederate veterans were proud of their cause and their military service.

Various types of organizations were created to carry out the foregoing purposes. Among the first were those of a memorial and monumental nature. Most units of this type were started by the women of the South who enlisted both veteran and general support for their activities. There were, however, some veteran-led associations engaged in this work almost immediately after the war.

On April 26, 1866 veterans and neighbors met at Baldwin, Lee County, Mississippi to decorate the graves of Confederate soldiers. A monument was erected to their memory, and annually thereafter on May 10 the graves were decorated. Out of these early meetings grew the Northeast Mississippi Confederate Veteran Association, formed in 1869.¹⁴ Another organization of similar character was the Confederate Cemetery Association, founded November 23, 1870 at Springfield, Missouri. Occupied at first with reburial of the dead and the marking of graves, this association continued to function as the caretaker of the Springfield Confederate Cemetery.¹⁵ Other early associations were specifically commemorative, either for an individual or for a particular unit. The Lee Monumental Association was organized in Richmond, November 3, 1870 to honor the memory of General Robert E. Lee. This body launched the drive which ended in the erection of the equestrian statute of Lee.¹⁶ Typical of the unit type of

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the Second Annual Grand Camp Confederate Veterans of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1892), 4 (hereinafter *Mississippi Proceedings*).

¹⁵ *Official Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Reunion and Convention, Missouri Division, United Confederate Veterans* (Jefferson City, n.d.), 78-79 (hereinafter *Missouri Proceedings*).

¹⁶ Jones, 9-10; *SHSP*, XXII, 284 (1894).

organization was the Charleston Light Dragoons Monumental Association which was founded by its members to perpetuate the heroic deeds and sacrifices of their fallen comrades by the erection of a suitable monument in Magnolia Cemetery.¹⁷

Alongside early memorial and monumental groups, military type organizations were also formed. It was only natural that organization be along military lines, because this was the surest means of bringing together men who had actually served together during the war. Too, the military life of the old outfit was fondly cherished by many who yearned for the old days. For these reasons, company, regiment, and brigade associations were very popular. Many of these flourished as long as survivors were left.

The company association was especially popular in areas where military companies had maintained an existence dating back to the Revolution or to the War of 1812. The smallness of the unit also contributed to the popularity of the company organization, because men serving in a company came to know one another rather intimately. South Carolina, the home of proud military traditions, led in perfecting the company type of veterans organizations. The prohibitions against the reorganization of Confederate military units were usually circumvented by using the title "Charitable Association."

In 1865 the Washington Light Infantry Charitable Association was formed in Charleston by survivors of the famous old company.¹⁸ Also in 1865 the South Carolina Rangers' Charitable Association was founded for the purpose of helping the families of those who had perished. The year 1866 witnessed the founding of the Beauregard Light Infantry Charitable Association and the Palmetto Guard Society. The Palmetto Guard—more interested in marksmanship than charity—was a rifle club from the start.¹⁹ The founding of the Butler Guards at Greenville,

¹⁷ *Courier*, Jan. 8, 1873.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1869; CV, VIII, 76 (Feb., 1900).

¹⁹ *Courier*, May 16, 1866; Nov. 10, 1866; Apr. 15, 1867.

South Carolina in April, 1875 was an example of the spread of company organizations throughout the state. This unit boasted 100 members the first year.²⁰

One of the earliest military veteran organizations in Georgia was the Oglethorpe Light Infantry Association, founded in 1865.

Eighteen sixty-five found the companies at home, but minus many gallant comrades. . . . Desirous of cherishing the memories of their fallen comrades, they came together and organized a society of social and civil character, though retaining the name of Oglethorpe, and upon the "restoration" of the State they reorganized a military company. . . .²¹

In 1867 at Campbellton, Georgia the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas C. Glover called the members of her late husband's original unit—Company A, Twenty-first Georgia Regiment—together in reunion. Twelve men were present at this first meeting. It was agreed to hold annual reunions as long as any two of them survived. The next year thirty survivors of the 200 who went to war were present. These veterans vowed to teach their children the true cause, to be proud of their part in the conflict, and to impress upon them that "we were overcome by numbers—not whipped, but overcome."²² Other states also had company veteran associations, such as the Richmond Howitzers in Virginia,²³ and the Jackson Guards (Company G, First Arkansas Regiment) organized at Jacksonport in April, 1877.²⁴

Regiments did not lend themselves to the formation of small, closely knit veterans' associations since usually the surviving members were scattered over a wide area, often

²⁰ *Charleston News and Courier*, July 26, 1876 (hereinafter *Courier*).

²¹ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1876.

²² *Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans* (New Orleans, n.d.), 120 (hereinafter *UCV Minutes*).

²³ *SHSP*, X, 233-235 (1882).

²⁴ Bevens, 53-56.

in different states. At best, this type of organization was suitable for an annual reunion, but it was difficult for such groups to perform much charitable and memorial work as a unit.

Typical of the regimental form of organization was the Third North Carolina Infantry Association, organized February 2, 1866, and claiming to be the oldest veteran organization of its kind. The founding came about when the officers met to receive the remains of Colonel William M. Parsley.²⁵ Another of the early regimental organizations was that of the Old First Virginia Infantry Association, founded in 1867. It held annual meetings thereafter on July 18.²⁶ The Third Georgia Regiment met in 1874 at Union Point in its first annual reunion.²⁷ In Arkansas the First Arkansas Infantry was holding annual reunions by 1880.²⁸

The brigade was even more unsuitable as a form of organization than the regiment, but here the Confederate generals entered the picture. A general who rose to fame with a brigade was likely to become the prime mover in reorganizing its association. The size of such an organization guaranteed a large audience worthy of these generals' oratorical prowess. One of the earliest brigade associations was founded at a meeting of members of Reynolds' Arkansas brigade in Little Rock on November 29-30, 1866. The meeting was called by General D. H. Reynolds to establish a society

to aid the destitute widows and orphans of their deceased comrades; to assist the disabled; to erect a monument to perpetuate the memory of those whose lives were given in a noble cause, and to prepare and publish a history of the brigade, only a small remnant of which numerous band is now [1866] living.

²⁵ CV, XIII, 341 (Aug., 1905).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 391 (Sept., 1905).

²⁷ Katharine D. Lumpkin, *The Making of a Southerner* (New York, 1947), 111.

²⁸ Fort Smith (Ark.) *Herald*, Aug. 6, 1881.

After many speeches by Reynolds and others, a constitution was adopted and Reynolds was elected president.²⁹

In 1875 Cabell's brigade was organized at Clarksville, Arkansas. Five hundred and fifty ex-Confederates were present at this meeting which took place in the courthouse. After music by the Clarksville Cornet Band, General Cabell—newly elected temporary chairman of the group—eloquently reviewed the character of the fallen, the battles fought by the brigade, and made a moving appeal for the survivors not to forget the lessons of the war. Following a day of oratory and barbecue, another meeting resulted in a permanent organization with Cabell as president.³⁰

One of the first brigade associations in South Carolina was organized in Charleston on June 1, 1869 by the surviving officers of the First Brigade, South Carolina Regulars. The meeting was called to create an association and raise funds for a monument to the dead. At this gathering Lieutenant John C. Minot, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reminded his listeners of the changes brought about by defeat, and urged them to organize at once: "Then we were strong in numbers, strong in discipline, and strong in hope. Now we are decimated, disorganized, and oppressed." Colonel Alfred Rhett was elected president of the association which initiated two projects: one to raise funds for the proposed monument; the other to prepare a history of the brigade.³¹

Another well known brigade, Terry's Texas Rangers, formed a veterans' association in December, 1867 to promote the erection of a monument on the capitol grounds at Austin in commemoration of their part in the war.³² In September, 1883 at Sparta, Tennessee members of General G. G. Dibrell's brigade organized and elected Dibrell president. This group sought to perpetuate the friendships of the war, to keep in touch with each other, and to prepare

²⁹ *Gazette*, Dec. 1, 1866.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1875.

³¹ *Courier*, May 7, 1869; June 5, 1869.

³² CV, V, 195, 254 (May, June, 1897).

a history of the brigade.³³ In nearby Missouri, General Joe Shelby's brigade formed an association in 1885.³⁴

Military units furnished a basis of organization where the veterans lived in a fairly compact area. There was, however, a need for veterans' associations based upon geographic divisions—city, county and state—to give all the men living near each other, regardless of where and with whom they had served, a chance to participate in the program.

Typical of the early city-wide associations were those founded in Memphis and Charleston. The Confederate Relief and Historical Association of Memphis was founded in 1866 by a group of ex-soldiers and sailors in order to preserve the history of the war, and to take care of needy veterans. By 1869 the group had 225 members with Isham G. Harris, former governor of Tennessee, serving as president. Jefferson Davis became a member when he moved to Memphis, attended meetings regularly, and was frequently called to preside over the proceedings.³⁵ In July, 1866 a number of officers and men formed the Charleston Survivor's Association. The main object was to aid their disabled comrades and the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in battle or by disease. Colonel P. C. Gaillard was elected president and lesser positions were filled by three generals, a commodore, a colonel and a captain.³⁶ Another city veteran group was organized at Walhalla, South Carolina in 1866. General Wade Hampton was the orator for the founding ceremony. In his speech he refought the war, praised the gallantry of his men, and emphasized that the "Lost Cause" was right. Warming up, he attacked the Radical policy, and castigated Phil Sheridan for banning Confederate societies in New Orleans. He warmly lauded the charitable and memorial aims of this new organization.³⁷

³³ *Ibid.*, 147 (Apr., 1897).

³⁴ Fort Smith (Ark.) *Elevator*, May 22, 1885.

³⁵ CV, V, 566 (Nov., 1897); J. Harvey Mathes, *The Old Guard in Gray* (Memphis, 1897), 20-21.

³⁶ *Courier*, July 27, 1866.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1866.

County veteran associations came into great prominence in the 1870's and 1880's. This type of unit was well suited for annual reunions, and in some instances was successful in county-wide charitable services for veterans. One of the earliest was that of the Confederate Veteran's Association of Fulton County, Georgia. On April 20, 1886, in response to appeals in the press, 182 veterans met in the Fulton County Courthouse. A permanent organization was effected to promote social relations, to provide aid for unfortunate veterans, to care for the resting places of the dead, and to gather material for the preparation of a true history of the war.³⁸

State veteran organizations were difficult to achieve until local societies had been formed and interest in the movement developed to a higher degree. Too, the most pressing postwar problems were primarily local in character: reburial, cemetery care, and help to needy veterans or their families. The only state association formed in the 1860's was the Survivor's Association of South Carolina which developed in 1869 through the leadership of veteran groups in the Charleston area. Two hundred delegates representing groups throughout the state adopted a constitution and elected General Wade Hampton president of the state association. At the 1872 state convention the delegates resolved:

to advocate vigorously the inauguration of district associations throughout the State, as the only sure means of collating statistics and preserving the records of the past, and thereby furnishing material for the preparation of the history of our people, in which at least justice may be done the dead, and the living taught to know their deeds of valor and to revere their memories.³⁹

In 1871 the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland was organized and its promoter, General Bradley T. Johnson, became presi-

³⁸ Rodgers, 7, 108-118.

³⁹ *Courier*, Nov. 13, 19, 1869; Dec. 11, 1872.

dent. Veterans, their sons, and honorary members sympathetic to the aims of the society were included in the organization.⁴⁰

The Association of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division, was organized at Nashville in October, 1876. The association immediately chartered Frank Cheatham Bivouac No. 1 at Nashville, and other bivouacs were formed throughout the state. By 1889 there were seventeen bivouacs, or camps, in the Tennessee organization.⁴¹

The Ex-Confederate Association of Missouri, founded September 28, 1881 at a meeting of several hundred veterans in Moberly, elected General John S. Marmaduke president, along with a vice president for each congressional district in the state.⁴² In Georgia the Fulton County Confederate Veteran's Association promoted the organization of the Confederate Survivor's Association of Georgia, which was created in Atlanta, August 15, 1889. General John B. Gordon was elected commander-in-chief. Divisions of the state association coincided with the boundaries of Congressional districts. This was a rather loose federated system which left local organizations virtual autonomy.⁴³

During the period 1865-1889 veteran associations of interstate proportions were of little consequence. Some such movements were planned but in reality they were rather weak, save in a very few states. One organization with limited success was the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, founded November 4, 1870 at a meeting called primarily to erect a memorial to General Lee. General Jubal A. Early, the first president, appointed a vice president and two assistants for each state. Among the vice presidents were General Beauregard for Louisiana,

⁴⁰ *Roster of Officers and Members of the Society . . .* (Baltimore, 1888), 3-7.

⁴¹ *Confederate Gray Book, 1911* (Nashville, n.d.), 18; *Minutes of the Second Convention of the Association of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division* (Nashville, 1889), 4-5 (hereinafter *Tennessee Minutes*).

⁴² *Confederate Annals*, I, 34-36 (June, 1883).

⁴³ Rodgers, 19.

General Gordon for Georgia, General S. D. Lee for Mississippi, and General Wade Hampton for South Carolina. They were charged with the duty of organizing societies in their respective states to be called "Divisions."⁴⁴

General Bradley T. Johnson, head of the committee on organization, laid down the future policy of the association:

We propose to testify to the world and to history our abiding faith and perfect confidence in the cause in which we fought, as the cause of Patriotism and Honor, Justice and Right, and, above all, that it is the cause of constitutional and civil liberty on this continent. We are not of those who believe that this is a lost cause. . . . We believe that the issue of the late struggle is but temporary. . . .

The great defenses are still left. Trial by jury, free speech, free press, a voice and a share in making the laws. With these weapons we shall regain our lost rights, we shall recover our despoiled liberties. . . .⁴⁵

This committee report further stated that it was the duty of each unit of the new organization to collect materials for history, such as muster rolls, and forward them to the archives of the society. In this way alone could the achievements of the Army of Northern Virginia be perpetuated, justice done to the dead and the living, and the cause for which they fought. Hope was expressed that the friendships formed "in the service of our country" might be preserved in the future annual meetings.⁴⁶

The Virginia Division of the Army of Northern Virginia Association came into being the following year, 1871, at a meeting held in the House of Delegates in Richmond. After adopting a constitution the body elected General Fitzhugh Lee its first president. The Virginia Division remained the most active one formed, and long had a successful organization. Its annual meetings were notable for the large crowds and the thrilling and lengthy orations.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Jones, 9-10, 42-44; *SHSP*, XXII, 284 (1894).

⁴⁵ Jones, 45-46.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 44, 48.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 48, 90, 127.

In September, 1875 the Louisiana Division of the ANV was founded. This became a leading charitable society, especially in the New Orleans area.⁴⁸ Except for the activity in Virginia and Louisiana, the grand scheme of a South-wide Army of Northern Virginia Association remained only on paper.

Another organization, the Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, was begun in Virginia. It likewise planned to cover all of the Southern states. The original camp—R. E. Lee No. 1 of Richmond—chartered other camps in Virginia, Tennessee, and Mississippi. By 1890 the camps in these states had grouped themselves into divisions. The Grand Camp movement, powerful in Virginia, but only nominally so in Tennessee and Mississippi, was not adopted in other states on a division basis.⁴⁹

The Benevolent Association of the Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division, was organized in New Orleans in May, 1887 with General P. G. T. Beauregard heading the 105-member group. According to the charter, the aims of the association were to be "strictly Social, Historical, and Benevolent. . . ." Members were urged to cultivate ties of friendship between survivors, to keep fresh the memories of the dead, to aid the widows and orphans, and to perpetuate the deeds of heroism by collecting material for the future historian. Although some interest was shown in Tennessee, this association never spread to other states as planned.⁵⁰

Many organizations leaned heavily upon veterans for leadership and support without being exclusively veteran in membership. Typical of this classification was the Southern Historical Association—veteran inspired and led for many years. Founded May 1, 1869 in New Orleans, its objectives were the collection, classification, preser-

⁴⁸ *SHSP*, IX, 213-214 (1881).

⁴⁹ *CV*, I, 83 (March, 1893); *UCV Minutes* (1st), 29; *Mississippi Proceedings* (2nd), 3-4; *Proceedings, 13th Annual Reunion, Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, Department of Virginia* (Richmond, 1900), 5, 22 (hereinafter *Virginia Proceedings*).

⁵⁰ *Roll of the Association of the Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division* (New Orleans, n.d.), 1-2.

vation, and final publication of all documents and facts relating to the war to insure that a true account of the struggle would be written. These objectives were identical with the historical motives of purely veteran organizations. General Jubal A. Early was elected the first president, and the lesser officials were also military men.⁵¹

The general characteristics of these early veteran organizations were such as to invite little criticism from veterans or outsiders. Public-spirited and reasonably broad-minded in outlook, the groups were usually a constructive force in their communities.

Early veteran organizations were characterized by strong and able leadership. It was generally the ex-Confederate officers—men of proven leadership ability in war—who initiated the move for organizations of all types, dominated the preliminary meetings, and then got themselves elected to the most important positions. Generals and colonels probably held over half of the offices in the early stages of the movement. There was little rotation of these offices: ordinarily the officials were re-elected as long as they lived or cared to keep the office. Positions of leadership in the societies restored to the ex-officer class a measure of prominence they had known and enjoyed during the war.⁵² Leadership was strong and able, but in order to distribute the tasks and the honors as much as possible most of the work was actually handled by committees.

A predictable characteristic of veterans' organizations was that they were usually formed on a military pattern. Civilian titles were discreetly used immediately after the war, but later on military titles were used almost exclusively. Military in form, in fact the organizations were democratic and representative in practice and procedure. Only certain pleasant aspects of the old military life were cherished by veterans—military discipline was not among those selected to be honored and preserved.

⁵¹ *Proceedings of the Southern Historical Convention . . . 1873*, 3-11.

⁵² Lumpkin, 112.

Membership was more restricted in the early associations than in later years. Generally, membership was granted only to those who had served honorably, although many groups admitted non-veterans to honorary or associate membership. In some cases a new member had to be recommended for membership by one belonging to the group, and then the admission passed upon by a committee. A few early associations were limited to ex-officers, but this practice was short-lived.⁵³ All restrictions gradually disappeared, except the one requiring honorable service—a thing often hard to prove or disprove. Veteran organizations were supported by rather high dues at first, ranging from \$1.00 to \$5.00 per year. These dues were lowered as the movement broadened, until by 1889 \$1.00 or less per year was customary.

Meetings were not secret, and often were held with guests present; the purely business meeting was rare. The most popular gathering found guests present, business held to a minimum, and most of the evening spent listening to orations or enjoying other entertainment. Regular monthly meetings seemed to be the most common. In addition, the annual reunion soon became widely accepted.

Oratory was a trademark of the early associations. The movement brought together men who had something to say or who wanted to hear these things said over and over. "As long as there is talk, there is hope," seemed to be the veterans' creed, and their meetings provided the arena.

One prohibition common to all constitutions forbade any activity in favor of a religious or political faction, and prohibited all religious or political discussions at official meetings. This proviso seems to have been faithfully observed without difficulty; politics was something else, and such a prohibition proved to be very difficult to enforce.

By the 1880's the Confederate veteran movement, though sketchy and poorly co-ordinated, had been securely launched.

⁵³ CV, XIII, 341 (Aug., 1905); *Confederate Veteran Association of Kentucky*, 12.

Its course of organization was logically adapted to the environment and the troubled times. And, although this early movement failed to attract the majority of the veterans, it laid the groundwork for rapid expansion after 1889. Leaders were trained and ready for even greater activity. Points of friction were slowly eliminated from the constitutions and by-laws and a suitable pattern for organization evolved. The solid accomplishments of many of these associations received wide publicity, thereby creating among veterans a desire to reunite with their old comrade. Besides building the framework of an enlarged veterans' program, the early organizations were significant because of the charitable work they performed. The help given needy veterans and their dependents came at a time when public aid was either non-existent or inadequate.

The United Confederate Veterans

THE YEAR 1889 found Confederate veterans astir. From assorted veteran organizations scattered throughout the South came news of pleasant reunions, appeals to aid unfortunate veterans, and a deluge of resolutions and oratory which indicated a revived interest in all things Confederate. A few state-wide organizations were in existence, but there was nothing approaching an overall association for Southerners like the Union veterans' Grand Army of the Republic.

Clearly the time had come for the Confederates to unite in one organization which could speak with a strong voice for all, for the problems facing them were now too big for local solution. Defeat and the trials of the postwar years had prevented a Southern counterpart to the GAR, but in 1889 the Confederates, possessing valuable experience gained from early organizations, were ready to move forward toward a central association. Such an organization would serve the same purposes as those already in existence, only these objectives might be expedited with more co-ordination and with less overlapping of effort. General Bennett H. Young, later commander-in-chief of the United Confederate Veterans, wrote of this need for a unified organization:

Societies scattered here and there throughout the South were an echo of this desire of the men who wore the gray to become assimilated into one strong and vigorous body which, while preserving every patriotic impulse, should yet crystallize a deep and undying sentiment of love and

devotion to the glorious memories of the past and assign to the men who followed the stars and bars their proper place in the military and civil history of the world.¹

Indeed, time and circumstance had made the late 1880's a propitious era for veterans to organize. By then the war had taken on a rosy glow, even to the most hardened fighter. The appeal of reminiscing with old comrades at a reunion, a campfire, or a barbecue was well nigh irresistible now that home life had become rather dull. Also, there was more leisure time because many veterans had achieved a measure of financial security or at least were making "a living." Few fraternal or business clubs could make such an appeal to the ex-Confederate as one composed of fellow veterans. With a central association they might secure aid for their needy comrades, the "cause" could be redeemed, and the sanctification of Confederate heroes concluded.

On a personal level such an organization could glorify the veterans' hardest years and add luster to their names. Seldom stated, but ever present, was the idea of getting personal benefits through organization by means of political pressure. Pensions, government aid, and soldiers' homes might be had from the state governments, if only the veterans organized so that their claims could be presented properly. And, indeed, there might even be something to gain from the United States Government itself. By 1889 conditions were thus favorable for the formation of a region-wide Confederate veterans' association.

The meeting which resulted in the formal organization of the United Confederate Veterans was called by a general committee representing three Louisiana veterans' organizations: the Louisiana Division of the Army of Northern Virginia, the Louisiana Division of the Army of Tennessee, and the Veteran Confederate States Cavalry Association. This call for a convention to be held in New Orleans on June 19, 1889 was issued to all veteran soldiers

¹ CV, XX, 259 (June, 1912).

and sailors of the Confederate States, urging them to send delegates for the purpose of forming a new association.

Nine separate organizations from Louisiana and Tennessee sent fifty-two delegates to New Orleans where a permanent organization was effected. General John B. Gordon, head of the Georgia Veteran Association, was elected the first commander-in-chief of the UCV. Chattanooga, Tennessee was selected as the site of the first annual convention to be held in 1890.

The constitution, as adopted, was rather brief; with a few amendments, it served the organization for its lifetime. The purposes for founding the organization were set forth in Article 1:

The objects and purposes of this organization will be strictly social, literary, historical, and benevolent. It will endeavor to unite in a general federation all Associations of Confederate Veterans . . . now in existence or hereafter to be formed; to gather authentic data for an impartial history of the war between the States; to preserve relics or mementoes of the same; to cherish the ties of friendship that should exist among men who have shared common dangers, common sufferings and privations; to care for the disabled, and extend a helping hand to the needy; to protect the widows and the orphans, and to make and preserve a record of the services of every member, and as far as possible of those of our comrades who have preceded us in eternity.

After assuming office, General Gordon issued an address to all veterans, stating the above purposes of the UCV and calling for their active participation in this organization:

It is a brotherhood over which the genius of philanthropy and patriotism, of truth and of justice will preside; of philanthropy because it will succor the disabled, help the needy, strengthen the weak, and cheer the disconsolate; of patriotism, because it will cherish the past glories of the dead Confederacy and transmute them into living inspirations for future service to the living republic; of

truth, because it will seek to gather and preserve as witnesses for history the unimpeachable facts which shall doom falsehood to die that truth may live; of justice, because it will cultivate national as well as Southern fraternity and will condemn narrow-mindedness and prejudice and passion, and cultivate that broader, higher nobler sentiment which would write on the grave of every soldier who fell on either side: 'Here lies an American hero—a martyr to the right as his conscience conceived it.'

. . . I call upon you, therefore, to organize in every state and community where ex-Confederates may reside and rally to the support of the high and peaceful objects of the 'United Confederate Veterans,' and move forward until by the power of organization and persistent effort your beneficent and Christian purposes are fully accomplished.

The UCV was modeled after the military in structure, functions, and command. On the top level was the General Headquarters, administered by a commander-in-chief who was to be elected annually by the General Convention. He was the chief executive and administrative officer. He presided over the conventions, supervised the organization of new camps and divisions, and generally served as the spokesman for the society. He was assisted by his appointed staff which included an adjutant general and chief-of-staff, a quartermaster general, and a chaplain general. Permanent committees on history, relief, finance, and monuments plus various special committees were created. The main work of headquarters was performed by the adjutant-general who received and accounted for dues and other fees from the member camps, issued orders in the name of the commanding general, dispatched letters, and kept the minutes of the organization. Outside of preparing annual reports or discharging occasional committee work, the remainder of the staff was largely ornamental.

Under the General Headquarters came the Department Headquarters which corresponded to an army corps. Originally, there were only two departments, one on each side

of the Mississippi, but a new plan of organization in 1894 resulted in the establishment of the Army of Northern Virginia Department, the Army of Tennessee Department, and the Trans-Mississippi Department. Each was commanded by a lieutenant general, also elected by the annual convention. Each department commander appointed a staff similar to that of the commanding general. The lieutenant generals acted as advisors to the commander-in-chief, and were charged with the duty of building up the number of divisions and camps in their commands. Department Headquarters served as clearing houses for orders and correspondence flowing between the divisions and the central office. Otherwise, the department offices had little to do.

The divisions of the UCV came usually to correspond with state boundaries. A major general, elected by the annual division convention, commanded the division with the assistance of a staff similar to that of the higher headquarters. In states containing many camps, two or more brigade headquarters, commanded by brigadier generals, were often interposed between divisional and individual camps.

The camp, post, or bivouac was the working unit of the UCV. Holding the rank of captain, the camp commander was elected annually. He too was privileged to have a large staff in order to honor as many members as possible. The camp was the continuing center of interest—social, historical, and charitable—and yielded in stature to the divisional or central headquarters only at annual reunion time.

The UCV had a legislative function which was exercised by all members of a camp in local matters, and by elected delegates in higher conventions. The delegates could amend their constitutions, adopt new by-laws and rules, and by passing resolutions lay down policies for the commanders to follow. Therefore, the source of power and authority in the UCV resided in individual members who exercised their power through their chosen delegates to the conventions.

The characteristics and special features of the UCV evolved from the experience gained in earlier organizations. The popular military form was continued and expanded. From the commanding general down to the camps were thousands of general and field grade officers commissioned by the UCV. In the early years of the organization almost all of the general positions were held by former generals, but with time many a private of wartime found himself a "General, U. C. V.," and was content to let his admirers assume that he held the same rank during the war. The UCV, using the military system on a larger scale than had been possible in the smaller organizations, was shackled with useless paper work, a confused chain of command, and a farcical pretense of military discipline. The only orders, written or oral, ever obeyed scrupulously were those calling for attendance at a reunion or picnic, a parade or a grand ball. The military form was a façade covering basically a democratic and representative type of association. The outward form and the inner workings were inconsistent and irreconcilable, but the veterans liked both features and clung to them.

One characteristic of the UCV which stood out (in spite of the superstructure of hierarchy) was that of local self-government. Article 12 of the constitution stated that the various organizations would have "the full enjoyment of the right to govern themselves." This made possible the assimilation of many early organizations which had different objectives and varied membership qualifications. As long as the camp had its constitution and by-laws approved by UCV, however, it could continue in its old ways of self-rule.

Article 8 of the UCV constitution stated that each camp "will be expected to require of each applicant for membership satisfactory proof of honorable service and discharge in the Confederate Army or Navy." Although many plans were devised to broaden the membership by admitting sons of veterans, this was never done. No one ever became eligible for membership, except soldiers and sailors of the

Confederacy, although non-voting honorary and associate memberships were often granted. This stand on membership naturally doomed the UCV to an ultimate death.

Another strong feature of the UCV meetings was that they were non-secret, informal, without ritual, and varied, often being open to guests and coupled with social affairs. Thus, meetings were designed to suit local needs and to cater to local interests.

Following the pattern of the early organizations, the UCV was declared to be non-political by its constitution. Article 14 prohibited the discussion of political or religious subjects, as well as any political activity within the organization. Any unit violating this prohibition was to forfeit its membership in the parent association.

A characteristic of great value was the strong leadership which sparked the UCV, especially in its early period of growth. Generally, the men heading the units possessed distinguished records of leadership; moreover, most of them had proved themselves as leaders in the early veteran movement and in postwar civil life. Surely the deft, firm leadership of General Gordon, the commander-in-chief from 1889 to 1904, was a big factor in the rapid growth of the UCV. His magnificent, strong voice could reach the largest convention crowd, whether in quelling an impromptu rally or in leading a song. Gordon had that rare ability of saying the right thing at the right time; he carried all with his tact, firmness, and common sense. His commanding presence and bearing cast a spell over his fellow veterans. Under his able leadership the organization reached its peak in size and influence.

General Stephen D. Lee succeeded General Gordon in 1904 and served almost four years.³ After Lee the commanding generals died off rather rapidly and there were no long periods of unbroken leadership. One particularly strong leader was General W. L. Cabell, who commanded

² *SHSP*, XIX, 175-177 (1891).

³ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-), XI, 130-131 (hereinafter *DAB*).

the Trans-Mississippi Department from 1894 until 1910.⁴ He acted as commander-in-chief for a short time in 1908 following Lee's death. An inspiring leader in his department and throughout the whole organization, Cabell visited all the divisions under him and personally did much to build up the strength and influence of the whole organization.

In time, of course, the real generals died out and the new leaders, lacking their aura of fame and prestige, carried on to the best of their ability in the pattern set by their revered predecessors.

The growth of the UCV in size and influence was exceedingly swift during the 1890's and in the first few years of the new century. Early and rapid growth had been the result of a pent-up desire and need for such an organization. It came about by assimilation of older veterans' organizations and by the formation of new camps and the recruiting of new members. Some earlier associations were taken over by the UCV, losing their old identity completely. Others, such as the Association of Confederate Soldiers, Tennessee Division, and the Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, Virginia Division, joined the UCV, but at the same time kept their older organizations intact. The members belonged to both the UCV and the parent association.⁵ In general, however, the UCV was able to replace the older organizations and to assimilate them completely. By this process of taking over camps already active by 1889, the UCV was able to gain strength rapidly and with little effort.

In states such as Missouri, where Confederate organizations had made little progress by 1889, the UCV set about establishing camps and recruiting members. In 1895 General Gordon commissioned J. O. Shelby as a major general, and directed him, as commander of the Missouri Division, to organize camps in his command. By 1906 this effort

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 390-391.

⁵ *CV*, XXIII, 8 (Jan., 1915), 8; *Tennessee Minutes* (5th), 7-8.

had resulted in the formation of seventy-nine camps within that state.⁶

No doubt the great strides made by the UCV can be explained in part by the fact that the new organization offered so much to the individual veteran. He saw that through its reunions and other highly publicized events it was becoming his recognized spokesman as well as the voice of the "New South." The UCV social functions appealed to him also. From a purely personal standpoint, therefore, the UCV offered him valuable assistance in establishing his eligibility for certain stage benefits. On a broader scale it appealed to him because it appeared to be a political body through which he hoped would bring about the passage of laws beneficial to himself and his comrades.

Exploiting this popularity, the UCV rose in membership, number of camps, and in influence at breath-taking pace in the 1890's. By 1903 it had reached its zenith. The annual reunion of that year, the last one presided over by General Gordon, marked perhaps the turning point in its history. The summit had been reached in fourteen years; the long, slow downhill march toward extinction had begun. In 1903 there were 1,523 camps in the organization, about half of which were in good standing. The number of delegates at this convention was the largest ever—a total of 2,405.⁷ They represented an estimated 47,000 active members and at least 35,000 inactive members (almost all of whom were not in good standing because of non-payment of dues). Thus the UCV had a top membership of around 80,000, at least one-third of all living Confederate veterans.⁸

⁶ *Missouri Proceedings* (10th), 13-17.

⁷ *UCV Minutes* (13th), 72.

⁸ The UCV never officially published its exact membership. Instead, it stressed in its reports the number of camps chartered and the number of delegates to the convention. A contributing cause to this neglect was, no doubt, the wide difference between the paid-up membership and the total membership. Only about 50 per cent of the total camps remained in good standing at any given time, indicating that 50 per cent or less of the total members kept up with their dues. The number of delinquent members might possibly have been lower than indicated because the larger camps tended to be more prompt in the payment of dues. The 10¢ per capita annual dues sent to UCV Headquarters in 1903 amounted to \$4,732.28, indicating

After 1903 additional camps were chartered, but membership dropped off in consequence of an advancing death rate. During the 1890's one large camp usually met the needs of all the veterans in a county. As they grew older and were inconvenienced by travel, the trend was toward establishing camps of smaller membership in each community where veterans resided.

Another factor to be considered was the percentage of living veterans who belonged to the organization. As they grew older, 100 percent was approached, chiefly because the veterans became scarce enough to be considered oddities. When this happened, membership was practically brought to them instead of their having to seek it. Still, the UCV as a force in social, economic, and political affairs was at its height in the late 1890's and the early years of the Twentieth Century, when its membership represented only a minority of the living veterans. Afterwards, the society slowly became a relic of the "Lost Cause"—its cudgel taken up by the willing, if often over-zealous hands of the United Daughters of the Confederacy or the Sons of Confederate Veterans. If by 1910 the UCV had become a relic, it was a fossil by the 1930's. Still it persisted until 1950, when the sixtieth and final annual reunion was held.⁹

The annual reunion of the UCV came to be one of the most important and highly publicized events in the South. Its overtones even reached into the United States at large. This spectacle served as a mirror, reflecting the many facets of the veterans' ideals and aspirations as well as the nature of the association itself. The general reunion, being but an enlargement of the annual camp and division reunions, also furnished a convenient insight into all such meetings.

The city selected for the annual reunion faced a tremendous undertaking. For months in advance citizens' com-

that there were about 47,000 paid-up members. Since half of the camps and presumably less than half of the members did not pay these per capita dues, the total membership was somewhere around 80,000 to 85,000 (see *UCV Minutes* [3rd], 27).

⁹ *Time*, LVIII, 78 (March 5, 1951).

mittees raised funds and made plans so that the occasion would be successful. In 1900 Louisville, Kentucky raised \$70,000 to promote the reunion.¹⁰ The citizens' committee ran short of funds at Birmingham in 1908 because more veterans came than expected, but an emergency call for more funds netted \$10,000 in short order.¹¹ Quite often the city government would make an appropriation to swell privately solicited funds. Macon, Georgia, for example, appropriated \$10,000 in 1912 while \$60,000 was raised by the sponsoring committee.¹²

The reunion city had to establish facilities to lodge and feed the expected throngs. Veterans of means usually stayed at hotels or with local friends. Those in less fortunate circumstances were quartered free in hotels or in private homes. At the 1907 Richmond reunion "Camp John W. Gordon," a temporary tent city, was set up to house the veterans, affording the old soldiers a chance to enjoy camp life again, this time with adequate blankets, food, and almost continuous entertainment. Some 5,000 veterans slept at Camp Gordon and took their meals there, all free. So popular was the Camp Gordon plan that it was copied by other cities thereafter as a means of caring for the increasing numbers who asked for free meals and quarters.¹³

Food and lodging were not enough, however. The City of Nashville in 1897 was "afflaunt with bunting, aglow with color. Naturally the red, white, and red was prominent, but everywhere intermingled with the red, white, and blue. . . ." ¹⁴ If a suitable convention hall was not available, the sponsoring city often constructed one especially for the occasion. "Reunion Hall" was built by the Louisville committee in 1900 and presented to the UCV. The structure was dazzling white, draped with red and white bunting on which the Stars and Bars fluttered from sixteen

¹⁰ *UCV Minutes* (14th), 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (18th), 24.

¹² *Ibid.* (22nd), 69.

¹³ *Ibid.* (17th), 14.

¹⁴ *Harper's Weekly*, XLI, 653 (July 3, 1897).

flagpoles.¹⁵ Another standard decorative feature was the use of huge pictures of Davis, Lee, Jackson and other Confederate heroes throughout the hall.¹⁶

After all of this preparation the reunion city finally reached a frenzied crisis in its prolonged siege of "Dixie Fever," and the arrival of the veterans and their kinfolk and spectators brought final and complete surrender of the city. By boat, train, wagon, mule, horseback, and otherwise, the crowds descended upon the reunion city. An influx of 25,000 to 35,000 veterans and another 50,000 or more onlookers taxed transportation facilities, and meant much hard work for the reception committees whose job was to see that all were welcomed and directed to their quarters. Thirty-one special trains arrived in Richmond the day before the 1907 reunion opened.¹⁷ Little Rock, a city of 46,000 in 1911, entertained an estimated 106,000 visitors.¹⁸ The convention city waited to be conquered, anxious to please, and determined to surpass the hospitality of the previous host cities.

The veterans, experienced in such conquests, had arrived at last. What manner of man was this ex-Confederate soldier, say, in 1899? How did he appear to those who had gathered to pay him homage? A reporter at the Charleston convention in 1899 wrote:

His broad shoulders are stooped, his black slouch hat droops over a heavily bearded face, there is plentiful gray in his hair and whiskers, no fashionable tailor cut his plain suit of grey jeans, but the band is playing Dixie and the old man steps like an emperor. He is the Confederate soldier; 'rebel' they have called him, and he has robbed the word of its scorn. This is his Reunion. . . . He is astir. He is on the streets alone, in groups and in companies. He shakes off the burdens of the years as lightly as the plowman shakes the sweat from his brow, and his

¹⁵ *UCV Minutes* (10th), II, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* (18th), 11.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (17th), 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* (21st), 38.

early youth has returned. The grizzled chief that he followed is here to greet him. The lost tent mate, that long ago shared his parched corn, is tenting with him again. . . .¹⁹

The opening session of the convention was always a great event. The veterans were fresh, eager, and ready to get things underway. This opening meeting was dominated by speeches of welcome and the response of the commanding general. Delegates, veterans, and spectators arrived long before starting time in order to get a seat, as crowds of 10,000 or more always jammed into the hall for this meeting. Ovation followed ovation as the enthusiastic throngs greeted the entrance of the commanding general, his staff, and other dignitaries. Rebel yells were the most boisterous and most often used form of greeting as they blended with the rousing strains of "Dixie."²⁰ Flanked by civil and military dignitaries and by the decorative maids of honor and sponsors from each state, the commanding general took his chair on the stage. The meeting then opened with a prayer by the chaplain general of the UCV, the Reverend J. William Jones, who began each reunion with substantially the same prayer from year to year:

Oh! God our help in ages past, our hope for years to come. God of Israel, God of Abraham, Issac and Jacob—God of the centuries—God of our Fathers—God of Stonewall Jackson and Robert Lee, and Jefferson Davis—Lord of Hosts—God of the whole of our common country—God of our Southland—Our God! We bring thee the adoration of grateful hearts as we gather in our Annual Reunion today. . . .²¹

By 1901 Dr. Jones was also praying for "the President of the United States and all in authority under him, that we may have wise laws and good government."²²

¹⁹ *Ibid.* (9th), 8, quoting the Charleston (S. C.) *Evening Post*, May 10, 1899.

²⁰ *UCV Minutes* (3rd), 13.

²¹ *Ibid.* (6th), 7.

²² *Ibid.* (11th), 9.

Two or three hours of welcome speeches and a response by the commanding general followed the prayer. The governor of the convention state, the commander of the host division, the mayor, the chairmen of committees, and still others vied with one another in extending a welcome to the veterans. In welcoming the veterans to Nashville in 1897 Governor Robert L. Taylor, the noted orator, sang "Dixie" in a low and throbbing voice as a part of his address.²³ The finance committee spokesman always tried to publicize the generosity of his group and of the host city. Attila Cox, speaking for this committee at the 1900 Louisville convention, said that his group had plenty of money and was prepared to pay the bills of any soldier who owed anything. Not unnaturally, this brought forth great applause.²⁴

Besides the invitations to partake freely of anything in the city, there often was a sly reference to the drinking habits of some of the old warriors. Governor James B. Frazier of Tennessee in greeting the veterans at Nashville in 1904 said: "I welcome you to the grand old hospitable state of Tennessee. I welcome you to the warmth of her sunshine, and if that a'int warm enough, I welcome you to some of her moonshine." Frazier was followed by the mayor who announced the virtual suspension of the law as far as veterans were concerned. He said that his police force had been instructed to deal gently with "those who fall by the wayside under sun or other stroke."²⁵ Often the veterans tired of speeches and dozed or talked to pass the time among themselves. It took a forceful speaker to hold the audience as the meeting progressed. Such was General Bennett H. Young, commander of the Kentucky Division, UCV, who thus woke up the 1905 Louisville convention:

Comrades: We will not fool with latch strings in offering you a welcome, but we will just kick down the door and

²³ *Ibid.* (7th), 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.* (10th), 15.

²⁵ *Ibid.* (14th), 16, 18.

open all the windows and let you come in with us. . . .

But no volunteer army will ever march under any flag that equaled the volunteer army that marched under the Stars and Bars of the Confederacy.

"That's the talk," yelled a veteran from Missouri, and the whole convention stood and cheered for a minute. Continuing, General Young said: "Everything we have is yours, for the time being. If there is anything you want and you do not see it, call for it. The law is suspended. . . ." ²⁶

The commander-in-chief, responding to the main speech of welcome, delivered what might be termed an "annual address." Besides praising the host state and paying tribute to those who had prepared for the convention, he usually added some remarks about the state of the organization. He was apt to drift into recollections of the war and praise of the fame of Confederates in war and also in peace.

The only business transacted at the opening session was the appointment of committees. Among these, the credentials committee had the trying task of determining whether the number of delegates each camp and division had sent corresponded with the active paid-up membership. Delinquent camps stoutly insisted upon representation. The committee usually agreed, provided back dues were paid at the convention. ²⁷

Before the actual work of the convention began, there were other sessions, such as the memorial meeting and the "oration meeting." The former was a religious service in commemoration of the dead, the sermon being delivered by the chaplain general or by some other noted minister. The latter was designed to give the veterans what they wanted most to hear: an account of their important place in history. Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia, a Confederate himself, was an all-time favorite "Orator of the Day." His address to the New Orleans convention in 1892 was typical of the content of all such orations. He reviewed

²⁶ *Ibid.* (15th), 15-16.

²⁷ *CV*, IV, 167 (May, 1896); *UCV Minutes* (3rd), 61.

the role of the Confederate States in history, argued that Confederate principles were American, and stoutly maintained that Confederates were not traitors. The brilliance of Confederate generalship was expounded along with the courage and ability of Confederate soldiers. A resume of the achievements of the South since the war usually brought his oration to a close. Daniel was forced to pause for "great applause" after almost every sentence. As he concluded he received an ovation beyond description. ²⁸

The business transacted by the convention required approximately one-half of the time allotted to the meetings. It included four main items for consideration: the submission of staff or committee reports for adoption or rejection; resolutions brought to the floor by the committee on resolutions; the selection of the next convention site; and the election of officers for the ensuing year.

Few members of the commanding general's staff had the time, the inclination, or the subject matter to make an annual report. The quartermaster general usually submitted a report of his activities, but it was customarily limited to thanking the railroads for granting low rates to the veterans and their families for travel to the convention. ²⁹ He was also responsible for the procurement and issuance of the UCV badge and his report listed the number issued during the past year. ³⁰

The surgeon general was much addicted to report-making, and the first holder of this office, Dr. Joseph Jones, was a very active worker in his department. At the 1892 convention he reported:

There are two objects of great importance which I have striven to accomplish, the first is as far as possible to collect and preserve all records of the medical corps of the Confederate army and navy; and the second, to determine by actual investigation and inquiry the numbers and condition of the surviving Confederate soldiers who have been

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 24-46.

²⁹ *Ibid.* (5th), 69. One cent per mile was the usual rate.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 70-72.

disabled by wounds and diseases received in their heroic defense of the rights and liberties of the Southern States.³¹

Such laudable efforts and pertinent reporting were unfortunately dropped by Mr. Jones's successors. For instance, at the 1904 convention in Nashville, Surgeon General C. H. Tebault, ranging far from his province, stated:

I desire in this report to contrast the strict adherence of the people of the South, of the Southern Confederacy, and of the administration of President Jefferson Davis to Constitutional Government during the war between the States, as compared with that of the administration of President Abraham Lincoln.³²

The report of the adjutant general, nearly always printed and adopted unread by the convention, was the most important of those submitted by the staff. The main subject of these reports was the financial statement for the fiscal year ending the previous December 31. Receipts were itemized under "camp dues," charges for commissions issued to officers, and donations. Receipts of over \$7,000 were reported during the peak years. Disbursements comprised printing costs, postage, rent, furniture, and salaries. The balance left on hand was never large after expenses were met—usually only about \$400. The adjutant general also reported on the number of camps in the UCV, the number chartered during the previous year, and the number that had become dormant.³³

By far the most important and influential of the committees which reported to the convention was that on history. Committees on relief, monuments, and finance existed at times, but at the top level they were of little significance. Not so with history, the committee for which was first instituted in 1892. By resolution of the New Orleans Convention of that year, a permanent committee

³¹ *Ibid.* (3rd), 82.

³² *Ibid.* (14th), 2.

³³ *Ibid.* (15th), 2-3.

of seven members was to be appointed by the commanding general to formulate plans to secure a true and reliable history of the War Between the States; to "select and designate" histories of the United States that were "proper and truthful" for use as textbooks in both public and private schools of the South; and to "put the seal of their condemnation" upon textbooks that were not truthfully written.³⁴

The first History Committee was appointed by General Gordon in August, 1892 with E. Kirby Smith as chairman. In its report of 1894 it declared that history, as written and taught, was unfair to the South, especially in regard to secession and the war. To correct this situation the committee recommended that each Southern university establish a chair of American history to promote improved teaching, research, and writing in this field. The committee further advised that universities and public and private schools should teach one year of history of their native state, and one year of American history. UCV organizations were urged to memorialize the state legislatures and other appropriate agencies to carry out these recommendations. As a direct result of this report, the first chair of American history in any Southern state was established at Peabody Normal College in Tennessee.³⁵

In 1899 the committee appointed a sub-committee of three members for each state to examine every history text used in that state. If defects were found, the sub-committee was to enter into friendly correspondence with the author and publisher. These sub-committees were to render a report to the main committee each year, stating which history texts were in use, along with suggestions for the improvement of the works and also of teaching methods employed.³⁶

In addition to its watchdog duties, the History Committee received, revised, and published twelve volumes of

³⁴ *Ibid.* (3rd), 99.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (4th), 3-6, 11; *ibid.* (6th), 37.

³⁶ *Ibid.* (9th), 37.

Confederate Military History, edited by its chairman, Clement A. Evans.³⁷

A second important part of the work of the annual convention was the adoption of resolutions which had been approved by the Resolutions Committee. Although often windy and pompous, these resolutions came closer than any other UCV statements to revealing the true purpose and intent of the organization. Resolutions of a political nature were invariably adopted by this "non-political" association. They either urged the adoption of bills before the Congress or state legislatures, or they suggested the substance of laws which the veterans desired.³⁸ Other resolutions expressed the support of the UCV toward certain aims or projects. In 1898 the Atlanta convention sent a resolution by telegram to President McKinley, pledging men, money, and support until "an honorable peace is conquered from the enemy."³⁹ Of course, many resolutions were adopted expressing thanks and appreciation. Miscellaneous resolutions covered a multitude of minor subjects, too varied to classify. The delegates at the tenth annual reunion in 1900 "Resolved, That in speaking of the war between the United States and the Confederate States it shall be hereafter designated as the war between the states."⁴⁰ In a lighter vein, at the Macon reunion of 1912 "General J. F. Smith offered a resolution condemning the practice of ladies riding astride at reunions, which was unanimously adopted."⁴¹

It was the duty of the convention to select the site of the next annual reunion. This was usually done at the last meeting, but the contending cities lost no time in launching their campaigns. Many speeches were made extolling the Confederate virtues of the proposed cities and previewing the lavish entertainment and hospitality in store for the veterans. The presentation of the fairest

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 152-153. The set was published in Atlanta in 1899.

³⁸ *Ibid.* (3rd), 54; *ibid.* (10th), II, 80.

³⁹ *Ibid.* (8th), 56.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* (10th), 68.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* (22nd), 157.

maidens was visual advertising not neglected during this contest. A charming rendition of "Dixie" or some other beloved song by a local beauty might turn the convention vote to her city. The Confederate soldier's sharp eye seemingly never dimmed in its appreciation and judgment of feminine beauty. At the 1904 convention in Nashville the partisans of Louisville, hotly contending for the site in 1905, presented to the convention charming "Little" Laura Talbot Gault who had refused to sing "Marching Through Georgia" in a Louisville public school. The young lady received an ovation and Louisville the next convention.⁴²

The election of officers for the coming year was the last important duty of the convention. General Gordon, elected year after year in spite of his pleas for retirement, set the precedent for re-electing the commanding general as long as he would accept the job. Department commanders likewise were re-elected as a matter of course. General W. L. Cabell commanded the Trans-Mississippi Department for some sixteen years. The growing tradition was that the election of the commanding general and the department commanders should be above politics, and that there should be no active campaigning for the positions. After Gordon, however, this practice did not always hold and at times there was heated campaigning throughout the reunion. One of the few really close contests occurred in 1908 when Acting Commanding General W. L. Cabell was defeated by Clement A. Evans by a vote of 1,231 to 1,085.⁴³

The annual parade was often the last scheduled event of the reunion. In a burst of color and pathos the veterans paraded before their Southern people. No other event brought them so close together. In no other way could the many pay such tribute to the few.

Clothed in gray and bearing rotting, tattered battle flags, the veterans marched and rode proudly, 15,000

⁴² *Ibid.* (8th), 88-96; *ibid.* (14th), 50.

⁴³ *Ibid.* (18th), 129.

strong, in their parades of the 1890's. As the years stiffened and crippled the old soldiers, they took to riding in carriages, then in automobiles, with only the most hardy among them still stubbornly marching. Following their mounted leader and his staff came the veterans spread out by departments, divisions, and camps. Companies of military cadets and militia and bands from all over the South were interspersed in the line of march, as were carriages or automobiles bearing prominent officials, ladies from each state, and veterans unable to walk or to ride on horseback.⁴⁴ The 1907 parade in Richmond required over two hours to pass a given point, as 12,000 veterans marched "along streets profusely decorated with flags and colors, cheered by not fewer than 200,000 people, and to the inspiring music of 'Dixie,' 'My Maryland,' and 'The Bonnie Blue Flag' . . ."⁴⁵

Perhaps the most memorable parade ever held, in the eyes of the veterans, was the one in 1917 when at long last they marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to be reviewed by President Woodrow Wilson. The aged soldiers captured the heart of Washington. The honor given them served as a token of unity as the United States was coming to grips with her enemies abroad. One proud banner carried by the veterans proclaimed: "Call on us if the boys can't do it." When the Louisiana Division came in sight of the reviewing stand, Chief Justice Edward D. White, a Confederate veteran, left his seat and marched past with his comrades.⁴⁶

The veterans seemed to enjoy these annual parades and received with modesty and dignity the loud and sincere plaudits of the people who had gathered to do them honor. Often young ladies along the line of march rushed out to plant a kiss on some unsuspecting, but receptive veteran. Others in the crowd offered them refreshments in an effort to sustain them on the long march. Many manfully

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* (9th), 40-54.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* (17th), 118-119.

⁴⁶ *Reunion of United Confederate Veterans . . .* (Washington, 1918).

started but had to drop out, unable to continue the march. Exhausting as the parade might have been to the old soldiers, it stirred the Confederate spirit and served to tighten the bonds between the veterans and their fellow citizens.

The official meetings and all of the business transacted by the delegates were of secondary importance to the masses of Confederate veterans who came to the reunion. To them the greatest of all attractions was the chance to retell the experiences of long ago, and to relive in a brief span the days of trial but of companionship since missed. In the early conventions it was difficult to locate old comrades, but better methods of registration of the veterans by name, state, and outfits soon made it easy to "look up" friends.⁴⁷ To bring the men and their leaders together "handshakings" were arranged so that generals could greet privates and all be friends. Receptions also served to bring the privates to the generals and other dignitaries, but the "real reunion" remained personal—one man finding another—and the reminiscing flowed on and on.

Plenty of entertainment was provided in the form of dances, musicals, speakings, and fireworks displays for the veterans. More exclusive were the myriad of social affairs set off by the reunion. These were mostly for the imagined elite. The greatest number of veterans could be found in groups on the streets or in their camps entertaining themselves. If they grew tired of talking, there were musicians among them who had brought along their instruments to pass the time.

Around the campfire last night many experiences were being exchanged. On a goods box near the headquarters tent was an amateur preacher holding forth. A few yards away was another goods box, on which was mounted Veteran Brack, of Texas, the famous one-armed violinist, who skillfully holds his bow between his knees, and with

⁴⁷ CV, IV, 241 (Aug., 1896).

his left arm manipulates his fiddle, while one after another of the Veterans shuffled his feet to 'Chicken in the Dough Tray' and other famous jigs.

. . . Both crowds eventually joined in a hearty rebel yell just before taps were sounded on the camp bugle.⁴⁸

These few short days of comradeship and reminiscence filled the veterans with a new spirit and renewed their pride in being one of that rapidly diminishing band—the Confederate Veterans. As they turned homeward, all hoped to be able to attend the next year's reunion. The hope, however, was tempered by the grim reminder that death would march daily among their aging ranks.

⁴⁸ *UCV Minutes* (17th), 31, quoting an unidentified article in the Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch*.

CHAPTER III

From Appomattox To Empire

THE ARDUOUS TASK of economic rehabilitation which the Confederate veterans had to face in 1865 might well have been viewed as insurmountable. Many of the veterans were destitute; not many among them had more than a few dollars in cash; and food and clothing for themselves and their families were urgently needed. As soldiers they had worked hard, as civilians they were to work even harder. Some had never performed manual labor before. The vigor with which veterans applied themselves to these tasks served as an example and an inspiration for the other citizens. Indeed, work became something of a fetish in the postwar South. Cried Henry Grady: "We have fallen in love with work."¹ And in a spirit of work the so-called "New South" was born—an economic empire was in the making.

For the veterans the joys of homecoming were mitigated by the economic stagnation which prevailed almost everywhere. As Carl Schurz wrote,

The southern soldiers, when returning from the war, did not, like the northern soldiers, find a prosperous community which merely waited for their arrival to give them remunerative employment. They found, many of them, their homesteads destroyed, their farms devastated, their families in distress; and those that were less unfortunate found, at all events, an impoverished and exhausted community which had but little to offer them. Thus a great

¹ Joel Chandler Harris (ed.), . . . *Life of Henry W. Grady* . . . (New York, 1890), 88.

many have been thrown upon the world to shift as best they can. They must do something honest or dishonest, and must do it soon, to make a living, and their prospects are, at present, not very bright.²

No long vacation to recuperate from the war awaited the returning soldiers. If able, they usually started to work immediately after arriving home. No time was lost in getting into the scramble for the few opportunities available.

Ordinarily, the veterans turned to their former occupations. Since half or more of their ranks had been farmers,³ the majority took to the fields again and were joined by others who switched to agriculture as the quickest means of obtaining food and clothing. There had to be numerous occupational shifts also to take care of certain displaced job-holders, such as military men whose professional careers had been obliterated by the war.

The Confederate veterans who came to the farms in 1865 were at once faced with the inroads of deterioration and neglect, and sometimes with the direct ravages of war. Weeds and brambles grew rank and rampant on the untended land; the rusted and ruined tools and implements of the farm were insufficient to the task of restoring the soil to its usefulness. Fences and farm buildings especially were in a tumble-down condition. The shortage of work animals, seeds, and fertilizers presented further obstacles. And what of the extra labor that might be required? The Negro and his labor were elements of complete uncertainty to the returning farmers.⁴

Perhaps with justice, returning veterans from the lowest element in the ante-bellum agricultural system had the least difficulty in resuming their farm operations. The poor-white's and small farmer's problems nowhere approached those of the ex-planters. It was fairly easy to

² U. S. 39 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. 2*, "Report of Carl Schurz" (Dec. 18, 1865), 38.

³ Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* . . . (New York, 1943), 330.

⁴ Robert P. Brooks, *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912* (Madison, 1914), 10; Fleming, 713.

start again on these simple farms where there was never much to lose, anyway.⁵

The middle-group, or yeomen farmers, coming home from the war had more serious problems, but they were able to overcome them by long and patient labor. With the frontiersman's ingenuity and capacity for hard work these men rebuilt their homes, replaced the worn or lost implements, and then patiently restored their farms to useful productivity.⁶ Probably, no better example of individual courage and tenacity can be found than that of the Confederate soldier who returned armless to his farm in Georgia. He "made his wife hitch him to a plow which she drove; and they made a crop."⁷

Veteran farmers and planters who had owned slaves came home to a confused situation. They seemed to oppose the use of hired Negro labor or at least they were skeptical of its usefulness; however, some former slaves agreed to work for wages or for a share of the crop. The wage system did not prove entirely satisfactory, and the share-cropping system gradually developed as the best means of utilizing Negro labor.⁸ In addition to the labor problem, the large land owners found themselves land-poor and debt ridden. Many were forced to sell all or parts of their holdings to meet their obligations. In spite of these problems, the planting of cotton still attracted the farmers and planters as of old, and the race to raise a quick crop of cotton saw ex-privates and generals rush to the soil to recoup their lost fortunes.

For example, Captain R. E. Lee, who found himself without funds to continue college, joined his brother, General W. H. F. Lee, and a cousin in farming in New Kent County, Virginia. They erected a shanty and used

⁵ Shields McIlwaine, *The Southern Poor-White from Lubberland to Tobacco Road* (Norman, 1939), 81.

⁶ Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949), 137-138.

⁷ Myrta L. Avery, *Dixie After the War* . . . (New York, 1906), 163.

⁸ Andrews, 322; Fleming, 714; Reid, 361; Oscar Zeichner, "The Transition from Slave to Free Agricultural Labor in the Southern States," *Agricultural History*, XIII, 26-30 (Jan., 1939).

their cavalry horses for breaking the land for a corn crop. Working alongside their army servants as laborers, they finished planting on June 9, 1865. This turned out to be the best crop they ever made.⁹

Lieutenant General Theophilus H. Holmes of North Carolina, a professional soldier and graduate of West Point in 1829, retired to Fayetteville and passed the remainder of his life upon a small farm "which he tilled with his own hands, accepting the reverses of fortune with uncomplaining patience."¹⁰ The redoubtable General Richard S. Ewell managed his large estate in Tennessee, eschewing cotton growing, to concentrate on sheep, cattle and hog raising. Using freedmen employees successfully, he developed pasture and meadows for his herds and raised wheat and other grain crops.¹¹ Among other prominent ex-Confederates who resumed farming or entered upon it for the first time after the war were Generals Beauregard, Bragg, and Blanchard in Louisiana; Lovell in South Carolina; Hardee in Georgia; and Vaughn in Mississippi.¹²

Many of the veterans who farmed during Reconstruction later drifted into public office, the various professions, industry, or commerce. Agriculture merely provided the means for a livelihood until better times and an expanding commercial life brought new opportunities.

In trade and commerce, as well as in agriculture, Confederate veterans attacked their postwar jobs with earnestness and energy. There were many false starts and failures, but they kept groping about until permanent positions were finally secured. The individual veteran seemed to hold no prejudice against work of any kind so long as it was honest and rewarding. In 1866 a Southern editor pointed out that

⁹ Captain Robert E. Lee, *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee* (New York, 1924), 161.

¹⁰ Evans (ed.), I, 673-674.

¹¹ *Gazette*, May 1, 1867.

¹² *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1865.

one of the most flattering signs of the times, and which appears to us on every hand, is the facility with which men who have heretofore commanded brigades, divisions and armies can come down from their exalted rank, and assume the robes of the civilian, and actively commence work at anything which may 'turn up,' that offers to yield them an honorable support. . . .¹³

For a time the men of high military rank held some advantages, primarily because of the prestige attached to their names. This advantage passed with time, however, and for each general who succeeded admirably with such a head start were many men from the ranks who pulled themselves to the top by ability and hard work. It is true that the leaders in war continued to lead in peace, but the plain soldiers also led.¹⁴ Even modest success in civilian pursuits by a former general was likely to be recorded in the press and subsequently in history, but the common soldier had to attain the heights in his chosen work in order to leave his mark since he had no previous individual claim to fame.

One of the most promising fields for employment during Reconstruction was in the railroad industry. Much work was needed to repair the old lines, and an expansion program was soon begun. The ex-generals flocked into this activity, for their names were useful in executive positions and in fund-raising campaigns. Many of them also had engineering training which could be utilized in surveying and construction work. General William Mahone of Virginia, a railroad executive and builder before the war, was soon active in that field again. By 1870 he was president of the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio Railroad Company at a salary of \$25,000 a year. He was also president at the same time of four other railroads, and his total salary was about \$40,000.¹⁵

¹³ *Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1866.

¹⁴ William B. Hesseltine, *Confederate Leaders in the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1950).

¹⁵ Nelson M. Blake, *William Mahone of Virginia* . . . (Richmond, 1935), 88-89, 118-119; *Courier*, Nov. 25, 1870.

General Nathan B. Forrest also engaged in railroad construction work in 1866 when he and a partner took a contract for opening and grading a section of the Memphis and Little Rock Railway. Replying to his welcome to Little Rock, Forrest said that "he came . . . to reverse his general practice, and build up instead of destroying railroads."¹⁶ In 1868 he was elected president of the Memphis, Okolona and Selma Railroad. Forrest reportedly raised \$140,000 in land and cash for this road in a few hours in Mississippi.¹⁷ Another success as a railroad executive was General John C. Brown who became vice president of the Texas and Pacific Railway Company in 1876. It was under his direction that the transcontinental line was built. Other veterans who held important railroad positions for a time were Generals P. G. T. Beauregard, M. C. Butler, Robert F. Hoke, E. P. Alexander, John C. Breckinridge, and W. L. Cabell.¹⁸

Veterans of lesser rank poured into such railroad jobs as station agents and line superintendents. Ex-Private Alfred M. Shook came out of the war to take a job in a store of the Tennessee Coal and Railroad Company in 1866. This job was the springboard for his later industrial activities.¹⁹ Captain Alexander A. Andrews, who had worked on the railroads before the war, became superintendent of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad in 1867, and later held that position with the Richmond and Danville.²⁰ Entering the passenger service after the war, ex-Private Charles A. De Saussure finally became general agent of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.²¹ A West Point graduate, former Brigadier General Laurence S. Baker farmed after the war, then in 1874 became station agent at Suffolk, Virginia—a job which he held until his death in 1909.²²

¹⁶ *Gazette*, Nov. 8, 9, 1866.

¹⁷ *Courier*, Nov. 25, 1868.

¹⁸ *CV*, III, 242 (Aug., 1895), 242; Hesseltine, 116-129.

¹⁹ *DAB*, XVII, 124-125.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 282.

²¹ Mathes, 83.

²² *DAB*, I, 523-524.

Mercantile pursuits attracted even more veterans than did railroading. Many veterans became merchants as soon as they could acquire a small stock of dry goods or groceries. If successful, they often branched out into other fields as profits accumulated. For example, former Private Ellison A. Smyth, who was only eighteen years old when the war ended, got a job in a hardware store in Charleston. In 1869 he became a partner in the firm and later used his earnings to start a cotton mill.²³ Ex-Brigadier Jeff Thompson became a partner in the firm of Thompson and Power, New Orleans grocers and commission merchants. In 1866 he avowed "that he is now as docile as a kitten . . . , is thoroughly reconstructed, and puts up the best article of old Bourbon [*sic*] in the market. . . ."²⁴

A notable success as a merchant was that of a private, Charles Broadway Rouss. He had been a small merchant before the war in Virginia, but sold his stock and joined the cavalry. In 1865 he returned home to work as a laborer on his father's farm. Seeing no hope there, he went to New York City. Before getting a start there with a \$65 stock, he slept on park benches and ate at free lunch tables. He prospered as he worked out new theories and methods of merchandising; eventually, he built a \$1,250,000 store and became one of the mercantile giants of the city. He retained, however, an interest in his native South, aiding indigent veterans at every opportunity. Rouss also launched the drive which resulted in the erection of the South's Battle Abbey in Richmond, giving \$100,000 to this project.²⁵

An early postwar field which offered much to veterans was cotton buying and selling. Often cotton factors were also commission merchants on the side. New Orleans and New York offered the best opportunities in the trade, and Confederates invaded each to try for a quick rise to success.

²³ *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas . . .* (Madison, 1892), I, 468-470.

²⁴ *Courier*, May 15, 1866.

²⁵ *CV*, III, 150 (May, 1895).

In 1866 four cotton factors in New Orleans were former generals: John B. Hood, A. P. Stewart, S. B. Buckner, and W. W. Loring.²⁶

The most successful of all the cotton factors was ex-Private John H. Inman of Tennessee. After three years in the Confederate Army he returned to his home and was threatened with violence by hostile neighbors. In the fall of 1865 he went to New York with only a few dollars, took a job in a cotton house, and soon became a partner. In 1870 he organized the firm of Inman, Swann and Company and was also an organizer of the New York Cotton Exchange. He became a world renowned figure in the cotton business. Called the "Southern Carpetbagger of Wall Street," he made a fortune and used it for the industrial development of the South.²⁷ Another cotton factor in New York was former Brigadier General Zachariah C. Deas who left Alabama after the war to re-enter the cotton trade. He also became a prominent member of the New York Cotton Exchange.²⁸

The generals and colonels were not always in high positions, but often toiled at obscure tasks to make a living. This is a tribute, not an affront to them, because it reveals their sincerest efforts to become self-sustaining civilians in spite of the difficulties of readjustment. For instance, General Stephen Elliot peddled fish and oysters for a living. Colonel Cary of Magruder's staff sold his wife's pies to Union soldiers at a nearby camp.²⁹ In New Orleans General W. H. King of Texas was a dry goods clerk, General Joe Davis a ship chandler, and General E. Higgins a dray operator. General Frank Gardner was employed there as a draughtsman, while Joe Wheeler sold carriages.³⁰

Almost every store [in New Orleans] has a Colonel or Major. There are three distinguished Colonels extensively

²⁶ *Courier*, May 15, 1866.

²⁷ *DAB*, IX, 484; C. Van Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 123, 149.

²⁸ *DAB*, V, 178.

²⁹ *Avary*, 155-156.

³⁰ *Courier*, May 15, 1866.

engaged in the auction business. One Colonel who has heretofore directed his big guns with great skill and heroism in some of the fiercest battles of the war, is now selling bale rope and bagging. Another one of Stonewall Jackson's favorite regimental commanders is pressing cotton as vigorously as he pressed Gen. Banks' rear at Winchester.³¹

Banking was a field quite often entered by veterans. The president of Galveston's First National Bank was General F. T. Nicholls, and ten of the directors were also ex-Confederate officers. But this Rebel-complexioned institution employed as cashier a former brigadier general in the Union army, William T. Clark.³²

Also to Galveston went a former North Carolinian, Colonel Alfred H. Belo, who rode to Texas on horseback after four years in the Confederate Army. He joined the *Galveston News* and later became its owner. He also founded the *Dallas News*. Belo, whose papers were devoted to the economic development of Texas, used military discipline in directing the work of his staff. He was one of the incorporators of the Associated Press, serving two terms as its vice president.³³

Veterans engaged in manual labor seldom had their efforts reported, unless perhaps there was something unique about their jobs. One such case was that of Gerald McDonaldson of Harrisonburg, Virginia, an ex-Confederate soldier who had lost his right arm in battle. He made a living after the war cutting wood with his left arm. He could make a hundred rails a day. This intrepid woodcutter also started a charcoal business and performed all the steps in making that product.³⁴

Years after the end of the war one veteran recalled that in the rebuilding of Richmond nearly all of the laborers were white men—men of good social position who became manual laborers. "Sitting in the sun with their trowels,

³¹ *Gazette*, Oct. 11, 1865.

³² "Report of Benjamin C. Truman," 7.

³³ *DAB*, II, 170-171.

³⁴ *Gazette*, Apr. 12, 1867.

jabbing away in awkward fashion at their new and unaccustomed tasks . . . Richmond rose from her ashes, and soon became, in great part by their efforts, a more beautiful city than ever before."³⁵

Confederate veterans who had engaged in the various professions prior to the war generally resumed those callings. There was still a need for their services, especially those of the doctors, teachers, and engineers. Although many forsook their specialties temporarily to engage in agriculture, trade and commerce, or even manual labor, they tended to drift back to their earlier pursuits with the return of better times. There were many additions to the professional group as large numbers of ex-planters despaired of agricultural prospects and turned to law, education, or the ministry. The military profession suffered the greatest set-back of all, and its members were forced to shift to education, engineering, or other fields.

The legal entanglements growing out of the war provided a fertile field for the lawyers. They also had many opportunities in acting as counsel for the expanding railroad industry and later on for industrial corporations. Two eminently successful attorneys for the railroads were Generals John C. Brown³⁶ and Basil Duke.³⁷

Those who were members of the clergy before the war usually served as chaplains in the Confederate Army, but some of the more zealous warriors served in a straight military capacity. Returning to their churches after the war, they often doubled as educators, largely because of the prominence of church schools and colleges. The deep emotional experiences of wartime led many men to resolve to become ministers after the war. Exemplifying this movement were the actions of three brigadier generals: Ellison Capers entered the Episcopal Church and later became a bishop;³⁸ Clement A. Evans joined the Methodist

³⁵ John S. Wise, *The End of an Era* (Boston, 1899), 459.

³⁶ CV, III, 242 (Aug., 1895).

³⁷ Hesselstine, 118. See Chapter IV for further discussion of the Confederate Veteran as a lawyer-politician.

³⁸ DAB, III, 483.

ministry;³⁹ and Richard M. Gano served as a minister of the Christian Church.⁴⁰

Probably in no other profession could the veterans claim such dominance as in that of education. The demand for teachers was everywhere great, and faltering academies, colleges, and universities needed the prestige of well known Confederate soldiers. Competition among the institutions was intense as they sought to attract students. A North Carolina editor, noting the influx of students to Washington College after General Lee's appointment, stated that, in order to insure the prosperity and continued existence of our colleges, "they should take on a warm Southern tone, and identify themselves, if possible, more than ever with the Lost Cause, by associating with them those who had been prominent in our army. It had very soon begun to be openly said that all that Chapel Hill needed was to have Gen. Jo. Johnston or some other one of our Southern heroes, placed at its head."⁴¹ The "military occupation" of Southern colleges soon became widespread as veterans filled numerous administrative and teaching positions. For example, Lieutenant General A. P. Stewart was a professor at Cumberland University before becoming chancellor of the University of Mississippi from 1874 to 1886.⁴² General E. Kirby Smith, chancellor of the University of Nashville from 1870 to 1875, served as professor of mathematics at the University of the South from 1875 to 1893.⁴³ Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee was president of Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College from 1880 to 1899.⁴⁴ After a distinguished political career, Brigadier General Lawrence S. Ross became the head of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1890.⁴⁵ D. H. Hill, president of the University of Arkansas in 1881, had 440 students

³⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 196-197.

⁴⁰ *Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1866.

⁴¹ *Wilmington Daily Journal*, July 18, 1869.

⁴² DAB, XVIII, 3.

⁴³ CV, III, 55-56 (Feb., 1895).

⁴⁴ John K. Bettersworth, *Peoples College . . .* (University, Ala., 1953), 47-84.

⁴⁵ CV, II, 169 (June, 1894).

enrolled, and it was reported that "General Hill makes a popular executive."⁴⁶ Confederate Surgeon-Chaplain Charles T. Quintard opened the University of the South in 1868 and directed it until 1874.⁴⁷ An advertisement of Maryland Agricultural College informed prospective students that "The President is Admiral Franklin Buchanan, late C. S. N., celebrated for his admirable organization of the Naval School at Annapolis."⁴⁸

Veterans of all ranks served as superintendents, principals, and teachers in the private and public schools, but their main influence seems to have been in the realm of higher education.

A veteran who ranked high in the history of Southern education was Lieutenant Colonel J. L. M. Curry, president of Howard College from 1865 to 1868, and professor of English at Richmond College from 1868 to 1881. His main contribution to education was in his capacity as agent for the Peabody Fund which he took over in 1881. As head of this organization he is credited with establishing state normal schools for each race in twelve Southern states, as well as a system of graded public schools in the cities and towns of the South.⁴⁹

Not all Confederate veterans accepted defeat and the economic, political, and social aftermath in good grace. Some took a gloomy view of the new order to come and in their brooding decided to leave the "so-called United States." Had large numbers of veterans joined the exodus, irreparable damage would have been wreaked upon the South and the nation. As it turned out, the departure of some 10,000 persons had little effect upon the shaky economy of the South.⁵⁰ Like errant children after a parental thrashing, they left home in a maze of real and imagined complaints, but time, circumstances, and mem-

⁴⁶ Fort Smith *Herald*, Aug. 27, 1881.

⁴⁷ *DAB*, XV, 313-314.

⁴⁸ *Wilmington Daily Journal*, Sept. 30, 1868.

⁴⁹ *DAB*, IV, 605-606.

⁵⁰ Lawrence F. Hill, "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX, 100-115 (Oct., 1935).

ories of home soon brought nearly all of them back. The Confederate prodigals went away with fanfare, but slipped back quietly to mingle and lose their identity with the majority of veterans who had remained at home. Insignificant as these emigrants were to the South as a whole, their efforts to gain a living abroad has long been of considerable interest.

Many lands were chosen as havens of refuge by the adventurous Confederates. Great Britain, France, Cuba, Jamaica, Peru, Venezuela,⁵¹ Mexico, Brazil, and Egypt were among those countries invaded by this dissatisfied band. Among these places, three countries—Mexico, Brazil, and Egypt—stand out as important centers for Confederate veteran activities. Mexico, being the nearest and most accessible, was the scene of the earliest ventures. With their armies disintegrating, some soldiers of high and low estate made their way there to start a new life. Added to this first wave were the colonists recruited in 1865 and 1866 to help fulfill the dreams of promoters to establish "Old South" settlements. With an unerring propensity for selecting the wrong side, the Southern leaders of this Mexican movement shifted their allegiance from the Confederacy to Maximilian, linking the success of their settlements with that of his unstable régime. To further the Mexican colonization schemes, Maximilian named Matthew F. Maury imperial commissioner of colonization, while J. B. Magruder was appointed chief of the Land Office. The United States Government and the press of both the North and South came out against these foreign ventures, urging the restless Confederates to stay home and go to work in the job of restoration. In spite of this opposition, colonists in Mexico were given free land in amounts up to 640 acres to the heads of families. Other concessions were also made by Mexico in the form of customs, tax, and military service exemptions. Settlements were attempted in Sonora, Jalisco, Chihuahua,

⁵¹ Alfred J. and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Confederate Exiles in Venezuela*, Confederate Centennial Studies, No. 15 (Tuscaloosa, 1960).

and San Luis Potisi under the leadership of Confederate veterans.

The most successful and largest colony was located at Carlotta, in the valley of Cordova, near Vera Cruz. General Sterling Price of Missouri was the leading farmer in this area, growing corn, tobacco, and coffee. Some of his prominent neighbors were Isham G. Harris, E. Kirby Smith, Richard S. Ewell, Joe Shelby, and J. B. Magruder. Most of the settlers were former line officers and privates, young and without families, and lacking both capital and a disposition for hard work. By the spring of 1866 the Carlotta settlement had a population of about 5,000, including 175-200 North Americans. Reports sent back to the United States were most often enthusiastic concerning the prospects for successful agriculture and in the belief that protection would be afforded by the Maximilian government. An estimated 2,300 additional ex-Confederates were scattered throughout Mexico in the other settlements as well as in engineering and construction projects. By late 1866, however, only one-half of the Southerners who had gone to Mexico remained. The flight back to the United States was intensified in 1867 when the liberals under Juarez triumphed and Maximilian fell from power. The liberals had never been lovers of the Confederates and the alliance with Maximilian only added to their distrust. Thus the fall of the Emperor doomed to failure their colonization efforts, and all save a handful of the veterans fled Mexico in 1867. Most of them returned directly to the United States, but a few die-hards extended their exile a while longer by going to Cuba, Canada, or Yucatan. Chastised and fed up with life in Mexico, the veterans came to join belatedly the race for economic survival in the South.⁵²

The movement of Confederate veterans to Brazil was better organized and more successful than the Mexican venture. Tales of the riches of this tropic land had long

⁵² George D. Harmon, "Confederate Migrations to Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVII, 461-487 (Nov., 1937).

been circulated among Southerners. In 1865 and 1866 several exploring parties went from the South to investigate the possibilities for settlement in Brazil. Most of these explorers were veterans and were sent by interested groups, such as the Southern Colonization Society, which had been formed in September, 1865 at Edgefield, South Carolina. Its officers were Confederate veterans and one of the two agents it sent to tour Brazil was Major Robert Meriwether, late of the Confederate Army.

Other explorers were Major Lansford W. Hastings, an Ohioan; the Reverend Ballard S. Dunn of New Orleans (also a veteran); Colonel Charles G. Gunter of Montgomery, Alabama; and Major Frank McMullen of Texas. The reports of these reconnaissance parties were optimistic and concessions were obtained from the Brazilian government to bring in colonists. The government agreed to provide temporary housing facilities and to advance money for transportation expenses. Implements could be brought in duty free, citizenship obtained by taking an oath, and the government promised to build roads to connect the new colonies to the existing road and rail system. Land grants were made to the promoters who were to sell it to the colonists at prices ranging from 20¢ to 42¢ per acre.

Colonies were scattered for 2,000 miles across the land by the settlers. The southernmost colony was located in the Brazilian province of Parana. Colonel S. M. Swain of Louisiana was the leader of the 200 Confederates who were living there in 1868. Crops of cane, corn, beans and potatoes were raised and some of the colonists engaged in the manufacture of barrels. Many failed to prosper in this colony, however, and left for the United States in 1869 or 1870. Of the dozen or more settlements in Brazil, the one lasting the longest was located at Santa Barbara in Sao Paulo Province. It later came to be called Villa Americana. Colonel William H. Norris and his son Robert Norris, both veterans, were leaders in the founding of this colony. Some 500 American families resided in this community in the early 1870's. Cotton, sugar cane,

corn, and vegetables were the principal crops grown, and the settlers also raised cattle. The main economic difficulty at Santa Barbara and also in the other settlements was the problem of transportation and finding a suitable market for their products.⁵³ A colony not so fortunate as Santa Barbara was founded by Major Hastings at Santarem, 500 miles up the Amazon in Para province. The jungle and the Confederates were incompatible. Only a few succeeded at farming or the making of rum and molasses. The others found themselves appealing to the United States consul for aid and, with ardor cooled and minds disillusioned, they, like the vast majority of those from the other Brazilian colonies, returned to their native land. The big rush home began in 1869, and many of the ex-fire-eaters meekly waited for free transportation via United States warships.⁵⁴

The Brazilian colonization schemes did not fail because of a hostile host state. The Brazilian government, in fact, lived up to its pledges with the possible exception of rail and road improvements which had been promised. Many of the settlers lacked the capital necessary to establish themselves properly, while others shied away from the grueling labor required in a primitive environment. Perhaps the main reason for the failure of the settlements was the lack of heart and spirit for living in a strange land. From the banks of the Amazon the United States came into proper focus, the animus of war subsided, and eyes and hearts turned homeward once again.

The Confederate veterans who journeyed to Egypt were not political refugees. They simply sought economic opportunities abroad through the use of their military skills. In the 1870's the Khedive of Egypt desired to build up his army in order to win complete independence from the Turkish Empire and to ward off the encroachments of various European powers. He sought American officers

⁵³ Ballard S. Dunn, *Brazil, The Home for Southerners* (New York, 1866), 44, 47-48, Hill, 123, 132, 161-191.

⁵⁴ Lawrence F. Hill, "Confederate Exiles to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VII, 197-201, 208 (May, 1927).

to carry out this plan because of their recent experiences and because they could, in the absence of any designs by the United States upon Egypt, be completely loyal to him.

Some fifty Americans were commissioned by the Khedive and served in the Egyptain Army between 1870 and 1878, with ranks as high as brigadier general. Over half of them had fought for the Confederacy. William W. Loring and Henry H. Sibley, both general officers of the Confederacy, were appointed brigadier generals. Among those designated as colonel were R. E. Colston and Beverly Kennon of Virginia, A. H. Jennifer of Maryland, Samuel H. Lockett of Alabama, and T. J. Rhett of South Carolina. The American officers never took command of troops in the field, but were kept on the general staff where they directed training and attempted to reorganize the Egyptian Army. Competent as the officers were, they did not change the inscrutable ways of the Egyptians nor fashion an invincible "Army of Northern Egypt" overnight.

The most important work accomplished by the Americans lay in their surveys of the country, their map-making, and their numerous scientific and exploratory expeditions. R. E. Colston received a gift of £1,000 from the Khedive for services in exploring Central Africa and for his maps and botanical collections. Colonel Beverly Kennon, formerly of the Confederate Navy, rendered conspicuous service to Egypt in his surveys of the Nile, his maps of the empire, and in his plans for coastal defense. The builder of the Mobile fortifications during the war, Colonel Samuel H. Lockett, "prepared the first accurate topographical survey of the country between the Red Sea and the Abyssinian plateau." Colonel Alexander M. Mason, an Annapolis graduate who served in the Confederate Navy, directed a scientific expedition which discovered the Bemliki River. General Loring claimed that the American officers on the Egyptain General Staff, 1871-1878, mapped and explored more unknown African territory than all other explorers combined. Under American leadership

Egypt recovered the Sudan and the Egyptian flag was respected as far south as the Equator.

The Khedive's financial difficulties were responsible for the abrupt dismissal of all his Confederate veteran officers in 1878. Only the Chief-of-Staff, a Union veteran, stayed on until the British occupied the country in 1882. The flight from Egypt ended the last foreign adventure of the Confederate veterans. They turned again to their native South where new forces were striving to make it the "promised land."⁵⁵

In all probability the forces of industrialism would have spread from the Northeast to the South in the course of normal economic expansion, but the advent of Southern industrialization was hastened by the effective leadership of Confederate veterans. The inefficacy of a system which was strong in agriculture and political action but weak in industry became bitterly apparent to the Confederate soldier, as he saw the North send forth a deluge of guns and butter, while the South's economy of slave labor and agriculture failed to deliver the goods to the fighting men. After the war Carpetbaggers gave Southerners an on-the-spot demonstration of Northern ideas and business methods. The economic lessons of defeat and Reconstruction taught the Southerners that the only way to rehabilitate the South was to "out-Yankee the Yankees." The leadership that launched the drive toward industrialization and gave birth to the "New South" was recruited from the ranks of Confederate veterans. No doubt many of these same men would have eventually led in the movement, even had there been no war. But their experiences had sharpened their abilities to lead, imbued them with drive and determination to succeed in business where they had failed in war, and improved their capacity to organize and direct in peace.

⁵⁵ Pierre Crabites, *Americans in the Egyptian Army* (London, 1938), 3-5, 9, 14-17; William W. Loring, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt* (New York, 1884), 27; James M. Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (Boston, 1917), 272; and William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, *The Blue and the Gray on the Nile* (Chicago, 1961).

The "New South," a term much abused and one tending to over-emphasize the growth of industry, nevertheless was a reality by 1900. The foundations had been laid when the work was hard and the outcome uncertain. Thus, to the early leaders of vision and daring must go much of the credit because their work made possible the even greater expansion after 1900. There had been some industrial activity in the ante-bellum South, and in many respects the development after 1877 was an expansion of these earlier activities. Iron and coal had been mined and iron products made on a limited scale. Tobacco products had been manufactured and cotton milling also had its start prior to the war. Southern railroads had expanded only to be wrecked by war. And immediately after the war there were few men with the courage and foresight to brave the unstable conditions and strive for a renewed and invigorated industry. The main push in that direction came after 1877, when home rule brought stability and the lessening of a great nation-wide depression freed the necessary capital.

Industrial development and the leadership furnished by veterans were best illustrated in the Southern industries revolving around coal, iron, and cotton. Southern coal and iron development centered around Birmingham, Alabama—a city conceived, founded, and developed by Confederate veterans. A pioneer in this area was ex-Private Henry Fairchild DeBardeleben, later called "The King of the Southern Iron World." He inherited the mining and railroad interests of Daniel Pratt after the war and set out upon a program of expansion, DeBardeleben discovered important deposits of coal and iron which were to become the basis of the industrial development of Birmingham. He founded the nearby town of Bessemer and built blast furnaces for making steel. His interests finally became a part of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company in 1891 and he served as a vice president of that industrial giant. A contemporary of DeBardeleben in the area was former Private Alfred M. Shook who directed the entry

of the Tennessee Coal and Railroad Company into the iron-making business in 1881. Shook mastered the techniques of the blast furnace and pushed forward until the first Southern steel was poured on Thanksgiving Day, 1889. Another veteran who played an important part in the coal, iron, and steel development around Birmingham was John H. Inman. As he became a giant in the worldwide cotton trade, he put his capital to work in the South. Inman finally took control of the DeBardeleben interests, but in turn was absorbed by J. P. Morgan's advancing empire.⁵⁶

Another important development in the Southern coal-mining industry was the opening of the Pochahontas Coal Fields in Virginia by Major Jed Hotchkiss who had served on Jackson's staff. It was through his efforts that capital was attracted to these coal deposits and that the Norfolk and Western Railroad was extended to the field. The first coal was shipped out in 1883.⁵⁷ Southern coal and iron industries were mainly the products of local faith, labor and capital. Once they were going concerns, Northern capital came, but the beginnings were made by Confederate veterans with an accumulation of local and petty savings.⁵⁸ In 1880 the Southern output of pig iron was 397,301 tons as compared with 1,567,000 in 1893. Coal production in 1880 amounted to 6,048,000 tons while in 1893 it was 28,000,000 tons.⁵⁹

In the important field of cotton milling the pattern of development followed that of coal and iron. The leadership in the early stages was supplied principally by Confederate veterans who utilized Southern labor and capital. A few began operating mills before political stability was

⁵⁶ Ethel Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* (Birmingham, 1910), 238-242, 361-362, 382-384; *DAB*, V, 179-180; IX, 484; XVII, 124-125; Woodward, 128-129.

⁵⁷ Edward W. Parker, "The Conditions in the Production of Coal in the South," in *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, 1909), VI, 180.

⁵⁸ Francis B. Simkins, *The South Old and New . . .* (New York, 1947), 242.

⁵⁹ Richard H. Edmonds, *Facts About the South* (Baltimore, 1894), 25.

restored, although the main work of expansion was launched after 1877. The cotton milling industry had its prophet in Captain Francis W. Dawson, an English playwright who had served in the Confederate Army. He stayed after the war and finally became editor of the influential *Charleston News and Courier* in 1873. Dawson was the first leader in the postwar movement to "bring the cotton mills to the cotton fields." His militancy for this cause and also for agricultural diversification might be likened in fervor to that of Garrison or Greeley in their earlier columns for other causes.⁶⁰ One of the first practitioners of Dawson's preaching was Henry P. Hammett who had operated a mill before the war in South Carolina. After limited service in the Confederate Army, Hammett sought to re-establish a mill when all others thought it impossible in the face of Reconstruction uncertainties. In 1875 he began the erection of the Piedmont Mills of which he was the largest stockholder and the first president. The town of Piedmont sprang up, and by 1892 the mill was one of the largest in the United States. The Hammett firm was the pioneer in its field, utilizing locally recruited and trained labor, and giving promotions from the ranks. Men trained by Hammett went out to other plants to become superintendents and foremen; thus Hammett's early action helped to further the rise of cotton mills in the South.⁶¹ Two hundred and forty cotton mills were built in the South from 1880 to 1900. In 1880 there were only 542,048 spindles in operation; in 1900 there were 4,299,988. In 1870 only 94,085 bales of cotton were consumed in Southern mills, but the number had reached 233,856 in 1880, 1,597,112 by 1900.⁶² By 1900 Dawson's dream had come true, at least in part.

Among the other fields of manufacturing activity in the post-war South, none expanded as rapidly as the tobacco

⁶⁰ *DAB*, V, 151-152; Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, 1921), 113-114.

⁶¹ *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas . . .*, I, 471-474; *DAB*, VIII, 200; Mitchell, 71, 109, 143.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 63; Edmonds, 25.

industry which thrived on the increased popularity of the cigarette. A leading figure in this activity was Washington Duke who had returned to his home in North Carolina from the Confederate Army with only 50¢ in his pocket. There he found his stored tobacco intact and untouched by the marauding armies of both sides. Gradually, he and two of his sons expanded their business and in 1874 built a factory in Durham. The firm of W. Duke Sons and Company was formed and it was the first company to produce machine-made cigarettes on a large scale. Expansion of the Duke interests led to the formation of the American Tobacco Company in 1890.⁶³

The expansion of manufacturing in the South was accompanied by a development of the railway system also. Southern railroad construction was financed largely by Northern capital, although the South did furnish most of the leadership. Confederates were prominent among these leaders and promoters, just as they had been in the actual construction, engineering, and operating jobs. The former Confederate private, John H. Inman, ranked above all his Southern competitors in railway promotion. His wide interests included the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia and the Richmond Terminal Company. Inman's empire was taken over in 1894 by J. P. Morgan in the creation of the Southern Railway.⁶⁴ By 1880 the South had a modern railroad system twice as great as that of 1869.⁶⁵ Twenty-five thousand more miles were added from 1880 to 1894. A total of \$900,000,000 was spent during these fourteen years in building new roads and improving old ones.⁶⁶

As the Twentieth Century began, the South was firmly launched upon a program of industrialization and there was no turning back. Agriculture still held a dominant

⁶³ Joseph C. Robert, *The Story of Tobacco in America* (New York, 1949), 138-142; Nannie M. Tilley, *The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 555-557.

⁶⁴ DAB, IX, 184; Woodward, 123, 292.

⁶⁵ Simkins, 238.

⁶⁶ Edmonds (1894), 25.

position, to be true, but the blending of industry and agriculture to produce a more sound and balanced economy had begun. That the coming of industry did not solve all of the South's problems should not be held against the progenitors of this movement. Their program reflected an acceptance of the inevitable changes and progress that accompanied industry's spread across the United States. By 1900 there *was* a "New South" in that economic changes had begun and they were rapidly altering the complexion of Southern economy. A Confederate soldier, Captain Hugh H. Colquitt, addressing a group of veterans, quite ably summed up the part played by the Confederates in the making of this "New South" by saying:

Now, I state to you that the men who have done this great work of making a new empire out of the desolation at the close of the war, are not men of the new period, but the same men who fought heroically our battles, and who, when peace came, with fortitude withstood the fearful pressure of reconstruction. Look about you. Examine the record to-day, and you will find in every branch of human industry the truth of this statement. Among the railroads, in the busy marts, in the factories, in the mines, in the professions, in the pulpits, on the farm, in the legislative halls, in agricultural pursuits, in everything, everywhere, you will find that the foremost men are ex-Confederate soldiers. . . . There may be a 'New South' but the spirit that animates and guides it, the blood that pulses through its every vein—the will that gives it force and power, is still embodied in the same men who bared their breasts to the bullets. . . .⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Rodgers, 135.

CHAPTER IV

The Veteran in Politics

ONE OF THE FIRST and most enduring gifts which a grateful people of the South, poor as they were, bestowed upon their returning veterans was a priority right to public office. And for thirty-five years or more the former Confederates used the bequest to dominate the political life of their region. Their only close competitors were the civil officers of the Confederacy. Men who were too young for the war grew up to contest this political legacy, but their entry into political power was delayed many years by the veterans' prior claims upon the voters.

Confederate veterans began to collect their dividends in 1865 and in 1866, as the people remembered their heroes at the polls. Afterwards, Reconstruction barred many of them from public office, and disfranchised even more. An impatient few, unwilling to wait for a resumption of home rule, embraced the prevailing order and espoused the Radical cause. Their ascendancy was of brief duration. The majority, however, bided their time, working constantly to upset foreign and Negro rule and to hasten their own return to political good fortune. Burying past differences temporarily, Whigs, Democrats, and a variety of independent factions labored together under the general label of "Conservatives." By 1877 they saw their efforts attain a complete overthrow of the Reconstruction governments.

But with redemption, disunity began. Veterans, like other Southerners, became Democrats, Independents, Greenbackers, Free Silverites, Populists, and even Republicans,

as they exercised their prior rights in the shifting political trends, championing the cause or the party of the hour. From 1877 to 1900 the South was never as unified as appeared on the surface—the term "Solid South" hid from view the many threats to unity and the innumerable battles for political control that pitted veteran against veteran and class against class. Throughout the period, however, most of the veterans, as well as other people, cast their lots with that catch-all Democratic-Conservative party which claimed to be the great redeemer that had wrested control from the Carpetbaggers and the Negroes. It did not in reality either redeem or restore, for its veteran leadership represented the rising middle class, not the old planter element, and their program favored the "New South" industrial outlook and sought guidance and support from the industrial Northeast. The Democratic-Conservatives were often vague on the real issues and perhaps did not always govern in the best interests of the people, but they could always hark back to the corruption and extravagance, the suppression and the misery of Republican rule. "White supremacy and home rule" was the magic slogan. It usually kept the voters in line.

The only serious threat to one-party control arose with agrarian discontent. At first the Agrarians, or Populists as they came to be called, operated within the framework of the established party of the South. Finally, they came out as a third party to achieve a measure of success for a short while. They also had strong veteran leaders who sought solutions to problems that were real and pressing. Yet, in their quest for support they could not escape the onus of alliance with the Negro and the Republican. The color line and the memory of Republican misrule destroyed or weakened all such alliances, and they were indispensable to Populist success. The election of 1896 brought an end to the last great attempt to break the hold of the one-party system in the South. From then on the Democratic party could safely drop the "Conservative" title. Strongly entrenched, it was the party of the true faith in the South.

Confederate veterans had been largely responsible for its dogma and its eventual triumph.¹

After the war the veterans lost no time in placing their names before the voters. Those who had become veterans during the war by virtue of disability opened the first assault. The candidates's difficulty, then as later, lay in presenting himself to the public with becoming frankness and modesty. South Carolinians seemed to have perfected the right technique, as the following advertisement by James F. Pressley suggests:

. . . I am announced as a Candidate to represent our District in the Lower House of the next Legislature.

I have been urged by so many of my friends to accept the nomination, that I deem it no part of my duty to refuse to respond to their call.

I have attempted to perform my duty faithfully in the service of our country from the very beginning of the bloody war in which we are engaged til now, when I am incapacitated for service from wounds received in the defense of Atlanta.

Should you see fit to elect me one of your representatives, I will attempt to serve you as faithfully in the Legislative Hall as I have done in the Army.²

Although the majority of veterans at first seemed skeptical of all things political, the hardier among them soon gave up their prejudices. They knew that a veteran would find great favor with the voters, many of whom were veterans themselves. In 1865 and 1866 veterans started to seek public office. Those of high military rank and wide reputations made the best showings at first. They were generally older than the men of the ranks who were to have their day later on. Some veterans had established solid political reputations before the war, but the greatest asset was their war record. All other things being equal, a veteran had a tremendous advantage over

¹ V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1950), *passim*.

² *Courier*, Sept. 24, 1864.

a non-veteran candidate, and a considerable edge over a civil officer of the Confederate or wartime state governments. When it came to veteran against veteran, deeds were held up for comparison and victory usually went to the one with the better record. Some veterans may have ceased thinking of themselves as veterans, but the politicians among them never lost sight of the fact.

In a few public offices, such as that of sheriff, military training and discipline might have been a direct asset, but for most of the offices the candidate simply pressed the fact that he was a veteran as his best possible recommendation. Past deeds were talked about more than present issues and problems. The examples that follow indicate the various appeals which the veterans made to the voters.

In the November, 1865 elections in Georgia two Union men contested for the vacant seat in the Third Congressional District—Judge Benjamin H. Bigham and Hugh Buchanan. The first campaigned without benefit of a war record. His opponent had risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Confederate Army. Buchanan's card outlined his military achievements and stated that he had done all he could to insure the success of the cause. He won. In the same election Brigadier General William T. Wofford was victorious in the Seventh Congressional District over a Unionist and an editor who were non-veterans.³

In the Texas election of 1866 Richard Coke, candidate for associate justice of the Supreme Court, was acclaimed by the press: "He did his whole duty during our late struggle for independence—was captain of an infantry company and remained with it in the field to the last." Another candidate, Major W. M. Walton, wrote to friends who had placed his name in nomination for attorney general on the Conservative Union Party ticket: "Having laid aside the harness of a soldier. . . , I am yet ready to defend every right left to us at the ballot box, and by all

³ Andrew, 327-328.

other legitimate means." A friend conveniently wrote a public letter calling attention to the service rendered by Colonel George W. Jones, the candidate for lieutenant governor of Texas in 1866:

His course during the war is known to every officer and private of Walker's Division. . . . He joined the Confederate army as a private soldier. . . . At Millican's Bend, at Mansfield, and Pleasant Hill, he was conspicuous for his cool and intrepid bearing.⁴

Radical rule only intensified the Southern people's determination to elect their old leaders and their military heroes, when free to do so. A Texas editor, endorsing Major A. J. Dorn for state treasurer in the 1873 election (which overthrew the Radicals), wrote:

Not a Missourian who served . . . under Gen. Price during the late family disturbance, but will be grateful to hear of his nomination. A brighter day is dawning for good men who sacrificed position and wealth upon the altar of their beloved land.⁵

The campaign for restoration in South Carolina in 1876 was one of the roughest. Veterans controlled the Democratic party machinery, nominated an all-veteran ticket at the state convention, and led the Red Shirts and "rifle clubs" which kept order and practiced the right amount of intimidation to assure victory at the polls. General Wade Hampton, one of the state's foremost heroes was placed at the top of the ticket as the candidate for governor. Hampton had such stature that he never needed to speak directly of his own war record. He merely lavished praise upon the common soldiers of the state and let the memories of the audience recall his own illustrious deeds. Upon his nomination Hampton declared:

⁴ Dallas (Tex.) *Herald*, May 19, June 9, 1866.

⁵ Austin (Tex.) *Weekly Democratic Statesman*, Sept. 11, 1876 (hereinafter *Statesman*).

I have claimed nothing from South Carolina but a grave in yonder churchyard. But I have always said that if I could serve her by word or deed, her men had only to call me and I would devote all my time, my energy and my life to her service.

Then he spoke coyly about not being the best qualified man for the job, and

besides this [he continued], there are men in South Carolina who think I possess a disqualification of which I cannot divest myself, and would not if I could. I mean what they call my war record. That is the record of fifty-thousand South Carolina soldiers, and if I am to forfeit that, and say that I am ashamed to have been one of them, all the offices in the world might perish before I would accept them.⁶

The Democratic ticket of well-known veterans was triumphant. South Carolina swept out the Radicals and took her place beside the other redeemed but unrepentant Southern states.⁷

In the scramble for political offices clashes were bound to occur between veterans. When veteran met veteran for the same office, the war was re-fought vigorously. The wounded man usually had an advantage over the one who had come out unscathed; the veteran with front line service was much better off than one who had served in the rear. Length of service too was of importance—a full four years of active duty was highly regarded. The manner of entering and departing from the service also had to be considered: a volunteer had more prestige than a conscript; those remaining "until the bitter end" with a parole to show for it were better off than others. If the veteran candidates would not delve into these facts themselves, their supporters did it for them, as the campaign warmed up.

⁶ John S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877* (Columbia, 1905), 350.

⁷ *Courier*, Aug. 19, 1876.

The following account of two veterans seeking nomination to the same office illustrates how war records were scrutinized and compared. The two men appeared as speakers before a veterans' reunion in 1884 to test their popularity with the voters. Of the first candidate to speak, it was reported that

his words awoke no deep echo in the hearts of the hosts assembled there. There were no tears in the eyes of those who listened. No memories of deeds of valor; no recollection of marches made, hardships endured, or dangers braved. Any war memory evoked by . . . [his presence] was a memory of the bomb proof position; the conscript service . . . or other place far removed from the path of the dangerous minnie or the deadly shrapnel. But rather memories of the unmanly wranglings, of a conscript camp, or . . . distribution of rations to the families of the men at the front. This is a poor showing in a land where the memory of the devoted legions who toiled for southern independence are kept green and watered always by the tears of the living mourners of today, for the heroic dead of twenty-five years since.

Then the other candidate came before the gathering of veterans.

[As he] addressed the assemblage of battle-scarred heroes . . . the gray-headed and bent forms of the once gallant grey-coated legions which he so gallantly led in victory and defeat, with whom he braved the hissing shot and shrieking shell, with whom he marched and starved, there was a different scene. Men could no longer control their feelings and the natural man stood out through his tears. The resounding cheers attested the deathless love of the legions for the quiet, soft-voiced, blue-eyed gentleman who stood modestly before them, speaking in emotion-charged words of the long past days. . . . There was the hero of war, the towering patriot of peace. . . .⁸

⁸ *Statesman*, Aug. 21, 1884.

Veterans were customarily received respectfully at all political gatherings, but with an influx of younger men and the rise of troublesome issues in the late 1880's they found themselves at times facing discourteous audiences. A Georgia editor expressed considerable indignation over the treatment given a veteran at the State Democratic Convention of 1888.

General Phil. Cook [he wrote] rose to second the nomination of Mr. Walsh, and during his remarks, referred to Senator Joe Brown, whereupon he was interrupted by hisses. The contemplation of the spectacle of a brave, honorable and crippled Confederate general being hissed in a Democratic state convention at the mention of the name of Georgia's senior senator . . . will give an idea of the unbridled spirit of the majority, and the temper with which they met any who dissented from them.

In the fight against the agrarian forces under Ben Tillman, the regular leadership of the Democratic party of South Carolina in 1888 had to summon up the most powerful Confederate deeds and memories. Governor John P. Richardson, seeking re-election, alluded in feeling terms to his own war experiences and the privations he suffered afterward. "In that war he had lost all," he said, "but he was willing to lose ten thousand times as much." At the Spartanburg Political Encampment, Captain Smythe of Charleston introduced Senator M. C. Butler by recalling that, when in war the people had looked for a leader, General Butler had led them:

And after the war when life was not safe, when property was confiscated and Woman's virtue laughed at, and the people rose and demanded peace, decency and rest, it was M. C. Butler's voice that was raised and his intellect that redeemed Carolina. He came with a right to speak and be heard—bought by blood and sacrifice.⁹

⁹ *Augusta (Ga.) Weekly Chronicle*, May 16, Aug. 8, 15, 1888.

By 1890 the Tillmanites were rapidly gaining control. Colonel John C. Haskell, a representative of the conservative faction, attempted to speak to a pro-Tillman gathering at Yorkville, but the crowd kept up such a din that he could not be heard. When Tillman asked for quiet, Haskell outlined the record of his party and tried to demonstrate that after 1876 the farmers had comprised a majority of every legislature. In reply to a question, he answered that "he was here, not for his own benefit, but with feelings as pure and unselfish as when a boy he left home to lose his right arm on the field for South Carolina." That statement was too much for the once-jeering mob, and they broke into lusty cheers.¹⁰

Thus, by the 1890's the appeal of the veterans to the voters was beset by many strains and stresses; nominations were no longer the exclusive domain of the veterans. In the 1894 Texas Democratic Convention, C. A. Culberson, a young non-veteran, vied with veteran S. W. T. Lanham for the gubernatorial nomination. Nominating Lanham, Charles Stewart praised his experience in state and national politics, adding,

he has a record of honorable service to his country of which any man may be proud. . . . Long before he had attained his majority he responded to his country's call, and . . . on the soil of Virginia he shed his blood for the maintenance of state's right and for local self-government.

The great Democratic principles are as dear to the heart of Lanham today as they were when he fought for their maintenance.¹¹

In spite of all, Lanham lost the nomination. And by the end of the century the veterans slowly began to take a back seat in politics, reluctantly watching the rise of younger men. By 1900 the end was not far away. The "big campaign" was over.

The years from 1877 to 1900 might be designated as the "Confederate Veteran Era" in Southern politics. Prior to

¹⁰ *Courier*, July 4, 1890.

¹¹ *Statesman*, Aug. 17, 1894.

1877 the veterans were never quite secure in the enjoyment of their political legacy. Many of them took office in 1865 or 1866 only to be swept out by the military as "impediments" to Reconstruction. At the same time those elected to Congress were not allowed to take their seats. Those who tied their political future to the Radical cause, in most cases, paid dearly for it when home rule returned. But one by one the wayward states were redeemed and the veterans came into their own. They had, with some exceptions, been cheated out of their inheritance for twelve years.

Between 1877 and 1890 veterans held the majority of the best offices, Federal and state. The only thing that kept them from holding all offices was a need for compromise with the rising younger generation and the civil leaders of the Confederacy who had a political following. And in the compromises promoted by convention delegates the veterans had to give some of the nominations to the non-veteran minority in order to preserve party unity.

During the days of their greatest power the most important seats held by veterans were in Congress. In the Forty-Fifth Congress, 1877-1879, the former Confederate States seated sixty-seven veterans, only eighteen of whom had held the rank of brigadier general or above. The number of general officers dropped to eleven in a delegation of seventy-seven veterans in the Forty-Ninth Congress of 1885-1887. By way of contrast, there were twenty privates in this Congress, and from then on the men of the lower ranks far outnumbered the generals and colonels.

The hold which the veterans maintained upon the people of their states is quite forcefully illustrated in the composition of congressional delegations at intervals down to 1900. In the Forty-Fifth Congress, when the former Confederate States sent ninety-five members to the House and Senate, 70.5 per cent were veterans. The Forty-Ninth Congress, had a delegation of 107 from these states, of which seventy-seven or 71.9 per cent were veterans. In 1895-1897 there were fifty-four veterans in a delegation

of 112, or 48.2 per cent. After this time the decline of veteran members was rather rapid. In 1901 only 27.8 per cent of the Southern delegation was veteran, or thirty-two out of 115. Rebel congressional strength was augmented in this era by other Confederate veteran members from Kentucky, Missouri, West Virginia, and Maryland. The state delegations varied from Congress to Congress in the number of veterans, but Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi consistently returned large veteran delegations as late as 1900. Confederate veterans finally passed from the Congress with the death of Major Charles M. Stedman, of North Carolina, in 1930.¹²

In the other two branches of the Federal Government, where appointment and not elections was the rule, Confederate veterans did not fare so well. Executive or judicial positions went to them in spite of the fact that they were Confederates, not because of it. Six veterans became members of the Cabinet, and a seventh served a brief time in an ad interim appointment. Captain Amos T. Ackerman, from Georgia, served as attorney general from 1870-1871. Lieutenant-Colonel David M. Key, of Tennessee, was postmaster general, 1877-1880. Three Confederate veterans were given places in Cleveland's Cabinet. Colonel L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi was his secretary of the interior from 1885 to 1888, and Colonel Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama his secretary of the navy from 1893 to 1897. Cleveland's postmaster general from 1895 to 1897 was William L. Wilson, a former Confederate private from West Virginia. Lieutenant Luke E. Wright, who bolted the Democratic party when Bryan was nominated, became Theodore Roosevelt's secretary of war in July, 1908 and served until March, 1909. Wright had previously distinguished himself as governor general of the Philippine Islands and as the first United States ambassador to Japan.¹³

¹² *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), *passim*; *New York Times*, Sept. 28, 1930.

¹³ *DAB*, XX, 561; Robert C. Wood (comp.), *Confederate Hand-Book* (New Orleans, 1900), 77.

Three Confederate veterans were honored with appointments to the United States Supreme Court. The first was L. Q. C. Lamar, nominated by President Cleveland on December 6, 1887 and after much "bloody shirt" oratory in the Senate, confirmed by a vote of thirty-two to twenty-eight. Cleveland appointed Senator Edward Douglass White of Louisiana to the Supreme Court in 1894 and the Senate confirmed him the same day. White had been a private in the Confederate Army. After serving seventeen years as an associate justice, he was appointed chief justice by President Taft in 1910. During the next ten years White "presided over the Court with dignity, fairness and dispatch." The third Confederate veteran to serve on the Supreme Court was Horace H. Lurton of Tennessee. Lurton, a former sergeant major, was appointed by President Taft in 1909. He served until his death in 1914.¹⁴

Lesser appointive positions were held by Confederate veterans, of course. They became United States marshals, district attorneys, and postmasters in great numbers. They served as members of the Civil Service Commission, the National Park Commission, and in other government bureau positions. Quite a number acted as ambassadors, ministers, and consuls in the diplomatic service.

Confederate veterans held commanding positions in the governments of the ex-Confederate States, from governorship to justice of the peace. Their pre-eminence in state executive and legislative offices illustrates the extent to which they were able to capitalize upon their political popularity.

In the thirty-four years following 1873 in Texas, Confederate veterans held the governorship for twenty-five years. Seven of the nine men were veterans.¹⁵ The interlude from 1891 to 1899, in which non-veterans were governors, evidenced a typical development throughout the

¹⁴ Tom W. Campbell, *Four Score Forgotten Men . . .* (Little Rock, 1950), 268-281, 298-301, 319-321.

¹⁵ Rupert Richardson, *Texas the Lone Star State* (New York, 1943), 553; Wood (comp.), 90.

South: the younger men of politics were coming into their own. Issues for a change outshone the candidates. The veterans relinquished their solid grip upon the offices to the youngsters who talked of action now instead of in the war. With a return to conservatism in the late 1890's, there was a brief return to veteran rule in the state houses, but generally by 1900 the veterans were getting too old and were being forced to take less important positions. Besides Texas, two other states furnish striking examples of veteran rule under ex-Confederate governors. In Mississippi only three men occupied the governor's chair from 1876 to 1901: Colonel John M. Stone, Brigadier-General Robert Lowry, and Captain Anselm J. McLaurin. Virginia's string of veteran governors went unbroken from 1874 to 1901.¹⁶

The holders of the other state executive offices throughout the period were likewise men who had served the Confederacy. For example, in North Carolina in 1879 Captain Thomas J. Jarvis was governor; Colonel William L. Saunders, secretary of state; Colonel Thomas S. Kenan, attorney general; Surgeon Samuel L. Love, state auditor; and Private John C. Scarborough, superintendent of public instruction. The only important position held by a non-veteran was the office of state treasurer, where the incumbent was a long-time public servant who had been too old for war service.¹⁷

Similarly, veterans were firmly entrenched in the executive offices of Texas in 1885. In veteran Governor John Ireland's administration were Private Joseph W. Baines, secretary of state; Colonel Francis R. Lubbock, state treasurer; Captain W. J. Swain, comptroller; Private John D. Templeton, attorney general; and a host of lesser officials, both elective and appointive.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 90; William W. White, "Mississippi Confederate Veterans in Public Office, 1875-1900," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XX, 148 (July, 1958).

¹⁷ J. S. Tomlinson, *Tar Heel Sketch Book . . .* (Raleigh, 1879), 139-142.

¹⁸ E. H. Loughery, *Personnel of the Texas State Government for 1885* (Austin, n.d.), 66-73.

Toward the end of the veteran era the greatest number of veterans in executive offices were to be found in the appointive positions. In Georgia in 1902 under the administration of a non-veteran governor, the only important elective offices held by veterans were those of comptroller-general and state treasurer. Lieutenant William A. Wright had served in the former position since 1880, and Captain Robert E. Park had served as treasurer since 1900. Veterans held the appointive positions of adjutant general, state librarian, railroad commissioner, and commissioner of pensions.¹⁹

The legislatures of the Southern states also came under the influence of Confederate veterans. Yet the veterans did well to hold 50 per cent of the seats in any legislature even at the height of their popularity. They had about the same success in winning legislative seats as they had in holding county and local offices. The smaller the constituency, the easier it was for a non-veteran to win public office. In a county or a small district election the veteran had to face issues more squarely, and many petty factors entered into a campaign. It was here that the political "in-fighting" took place and being a veteran was not always enough. For example, a non-veteran opponent might come from a better-known family or perhaps his father or brother had served in the war. Considering how much personality and other such factors were held up for public scrutiny in local politics, it is perhaps surprising that the veterans came out as well as they did in the legislative races. In North Carolina in 1879, when the executive positions were overwhelmingly dominated by veterans, only forty-eight out of 118 members of the House of Representatives were veterans. And in the Senate, twenty-six of forty-nine seats were held by veterans. The speaker of the House and the president of the Senate were veterans, which is an indication of the

¹⁹ Thomas W. Loyless, *Georgia's Public Men, 1902-1904* (Atlanta, n.d.), 3-5, 12-62.

²⁰ Tomlinson, 5-136.

prestige and power of the veteran delegation.²⁰ In the second administration of Governor Ireland of Texas, 1885-1887, forty-nine veterans held seats in a House of 106 members, and eleven of the thirty-one senators were veterans.²¹ The veterans managed to hold on to some legislative seats for a long time after their period of greatest power. Four veterans were among the thirty-five members of the Alabama Senate in 1903, while twenty-nine of the 105 House members were veterans.²² At the same time in the Georgia legislature veterans occupied five of twenty-two places in the Senate, but only ten of the 110 seats in the House.²³

The veteran vote was an important factor in Southern politics from the restoration to the end of the century. In the early years veterans accounted for a sizeable bloc of the total votes. Later, as they became fewer in numbers, they increased their prestige and influence by means of organizations and by keeping the deeds of Confederates before the public. Their influence upon their families and a wide circle of admirers continued to grow. They constituted a conscious group which seemed to be of one mind when it came to voting. In fact, such unity was never a reality; but the vote seekers, veteran and non-veteran, appealed to veterans as a group. Nothing was too good to promise the old soldiers.

The veterans did in time come to have fairly common objectives concerning such things as pensions, soldiers' homes, and other benefits. Their organizations, particularly the United Confederate Veterans, made possible a widespread educational program which helped solidify their aims. Through these organizations the veterans brought pressure to bear upon office seekers and office holders in order to achieve their goals.

Veteran organizations, and especially the UCV, were strictly non-political—according to their definition of poli-

²¹ Loughery, 4-61, 66-97.

²² Thomas M. Owen (ed.), *Alabama Official and Statistical Register, 1903* (Montgomery, 1903), 36-85.

²³ Loyless, 63-200.

tics. The politics which they banned were formal endorsements of particular candidates by their organization, or the use of veteran meetings for "purely" political speeches. To the veterans such things as pensions, relief, and soldiers' homes were non-political. Even the non-veteran politicians treated these issues with great respect, frequent lip service, and usually with action.

Candidates sought to win the support of veterans by attending their reunions and outings and by mingling with them upon every possible occasion. The veteran candidate had the advantage of membership in the UCV or similar organizations and could attend all official and social functions in his constituency. Had the veterans remained in their organizational shells they would have been sought out, but actually they took their political projects and laid them before candidates, before legislatures and commissions, and even before the United States Congress. Egged on by all office seekers and holders who maintained that every effort must be made to care for these old soldiers, the veterans became militant in their political demands and in exerting political pressure.

The drive for state supported pensions and soldiers' homes required considerable political activity by the veterans who resorted to pressure tactics to secure their aims. For example, in Tennessee the state association took the lead in improving the pension system. In 1890 the association resolved

that our Representatives and Senators of the next General Assembly of Tennessee be requested to amend the Tennessee Confederate pension laws so as to allow a pension of not less than \$8.00 per month to all Tennessee Confederate soldiers who are unable to support themselves and families by reason of the loss of one or both legs or arms, lost in actual Confederate military service. . . .

General W. H. Jackson, commander, told the group in 1894 that "the Confederates ruled the State; that their wish was the will of the people, and that they should ask for what

they needed to supply the wants of Tennessee's disabled heroes. . . ."

Confronted with a request from the Tennessee Pension Board and the Soldier's Home for more funds in 1896, the association called for concerted action by its bivouacs and individual members. All members were urged to interview the candidates for the legislature in their districts and to obtain from them positive assurances that, if elected, they would vote for adequate financial support for those charities. The association also urged its comrades to contact their representatives after the election to "secure and confirm their interest" in these projects. In this connection, the question of political lobbying arose, but General Jackson and other leaders dispensed with this objection by saying that Tennessee owed a debt to these indigent soldiers and that "we should not be backward in demanding what we wanted."²⁴

Similar pressure by veterans was a common thing in all the ex-Confederate States. For instance, the commander of the Virginia Department declared before the 1900 meeting that members should "urge upon your representatives in the General Assembly that largely increased appropriations be made to it [the soldiers' home], and follow up your work by active petitions to that body in its behalf."²⁵

In championing other measures deemed beneficial to veterans, organizations resorted to the outright preparation of bills, but most often used resolutions to command the attention of politicians. In 1895 the History Committee of the Tennessee association sought to implement a resolution of the UCV convention which urged its units to recommend to their respective legislatures that a chair of American history be set up in each state university. A bill prepared by the Tennessee committee outlining this

²⁴ *Tennessee Minutes* (3rd), 17; *ibid.* (7th), 21.

²⁵ In the 1904 Texas State Democratic Convention, General W. L. Cabell, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the UCV, made an appeal for the delegates to declare for more adequate provision for veterans through the Confederate Home and pensions (Dallas News, Aug. 4, 1903).

plan was introduced on behalf of the veterans. The committee also presented the matter to the Tennessee House and Senate. Out of this action a law was passed which put the plan into effect at Peabody Normal College.²⁶

The general UCV convention of 1900 passed resolutions urging the Southern congressmen to use their influence and to vote for a measure which would establish a National Military Park at Franklin, Tennessee. This convention also urged support for a bill before the Congress to increase the pensions for survivors of the Mexican War and their widows.²⁷ Funds for monuments were often requested from the state legislatures. The 1906 convention of the Missouri Division resolved "that we respectfully and sincerely urge the next General Assembly to make a suitable appropriation for the erection of a monument to the Confederate soldiers of Missouri who died in the battle of Vicksburg."²⁸

One of the most oft-repeated and forlorn resolutions passed by the UCV sought to return to the states the cotton tax collected after the war by the Federal government. In 1912 this plan was still being placed before the Congress:

. . . the United Confederate Veterans here in Reunion are of opinion that, in justice to the States from which the so-called cotton tax was collected, the Congress of the United States shall return the same amount to the States from which it was collected.²⁹

Needless to say, this fond hope never materialized. The argument always ran that Confederate veterans would not accept pensions or soldiers' homes from the United States Government, but they would accept payments from cotton tax funds because this money rightfully belonged to the Southern states.

It is surprising that a group of veterans with so much

²⁶ *Tennessee Minutes* (8th), 29-30.

²⁷ *Ibid.* (10th), 80.

²⁸ *Missouri Proceedings* (10th), 44.

²⁹ *UCV Minutes* (22nd), 158.

political power asked for so little from their state governments. Considerable evidence is available to explain their cautious and conservative attitude. They asked for what was considered necessary to care for those in need, but otherwise they viewed themselves, not only as veterans but also as common citizens and taxpayers. They tempered their demands with consideration of the welfare of all the people.

CHAPTER V

Fellowship Among Veterans

CONFEDERATE VETERANS, in binding themselves together in various associations, professed a wide variety of motives for their organization. None was pursued with such zest as the commonly expressed desire to preserve the comradeship of war and to keep alive the recollections of that struggle. Inasmuch as these functions were of a public nature, they influenced profoundly the rising generations. Through them the mind of the South was indelibly stamped with a picture of the Confederate soldier along with the cause and the principles for which he stood.

Socially, life had been drab in the South during the war but afterwards, in spite of the economic and political difficulties, social activities boomed. Poverty and sadness could not prevail against the party, the dance, and the picnic. Spontaneous and accidental comradeship soon gave way to organized and planned events, all designed to bring the veterans together.

The basic occasion which promoted fellowship among veterans was the monthly camp, post, or bivouac meeting of early organizations or the later UCV. Lee's birthday, a battle anniversary, the presence of a distinguished visitor, or some other equally auspicious occasion brought out the women's auxiliaries in best attire and loaded with special culinary creations. Local camp meetings lasted from a day to a week during the summer months, and afforded the veteran as well as his family a chance to enjoy a vacation away from home. One such four-day reunion and encampment was held at Long's Lake near

Dallas, Texas in August, 1884 with an estimated 20,000 people in attendance. Speeches, band music, dancing, and talking were the order of the day.¹

The sites chosen for encampments varied according to local customs and available facilities. The George T. Ward Camp, UCV, met annually at Shell Island on the Gulf of Mexico. The W. L. Moody Camp held its 1900 reunion in the park at Fairfield, Texas.²

Banquets, usually held in conjunction with camp meetings, were one form of entertainment. Referred to as "Love Feasts," such banquets were noted for eloquent toasts, lengthy responses, and inspired orations on the war. The right mixture of good food, tobacco, and a variety of alcoholic beverages created the proper atmosphere for a successful "feast," and stimulated the flow of reminiscences of which the veterans were so fond. Another feature was a re-enactment of a wartime campfire, such as that held at Pulaski, Virginia in August, 1897. Veterans and their wives and children gathered around the fires for the evening meal. Afterwards, the ladies and children retired, leaving the old soldiers to pass the hours with song and story.

Another popular social event was the outdoor picnic or barbecue, the pattern of which changed little with the passing years. For example, the reunion and picnic held by the Butler Guards of Greenville, South Carolina on July 21, 1876 differed little from a UCV picnic of the 1890's. Escorted by veterans of Brook's Troop, the Cornet Band, and numerous citizens, the men marched to McBee's Spring about two miles from town for the big dinner. In the absence of a formal program, the veterans split into small groups about the grounds. "Some discussed the war, with its dangers and hardships, but memory threw a roseate mantle over past events; and the scenes of the greatest peril, or the privations of a most distressing

¹ *Dallas Daily Herald*, Aug. 7-10, 1884.

² *CV*, II, 203 (July, 1894); V, 454 (Sept., 1897); VIII, 391 (Sept., 1900).

march, were laughingly discussed. . . ." Political candidates were present in abundance, many of them being veterans—to be seen there was sufficient unto the day. Dancing and reminiscing, albeit at a somewhat slackened pace, continued until late afternoon.³

At times the veterans' organizations combined social and charitable objectives. Money was needed for relief purposes, for monuments, and for erecting and operating soldiers' homes. By holding public entertainments money could be raised, and the veterans and the people alike could enjoy themselves. Among these commercial ventures, the veterans' fair and the sham battle were excellent fund raisers.

One of the earliest fairs was held in May, 1869 by the Washington Light Infantry Charitable Association in Charleston's Hibernian Hall. While the veterans took turns acting as "managers," the ladies tended their gaily decorated booths. Home-made cakes as well as articles donated by local merchants were raffled at each session. Additional revenue came from the sale of tickets. Exhibits reminiscent of the war were scattered about the hall. The cake stand displayed "a cross made of the grass from the grave of the lamented 'Stonewall' Jackson," while the booth which sold children's clothing exhibited a miniature marble monument bearing the inscription: "Our Fallen Heroes." Besides being a week-long social affair, this event raised money that by other means was not easy to get in Charleston at the time.⁴

In Atlanta a veterans' fair ran for two weeks in December, 1888. The numerous booths were named for famous Confederate generals and scenes appropriate for each Confederate state were given daily in the adjacent Veteran's Theatre. The Fulton County organization netted \$3,612.73 from this event.⁵

A sure way to raise money was to refight the great war

³ *Courier*, July 26, 1876.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 4, 5, 6, 1869.

⁵ *Rodgers*, 16-17, 149.

in sham battles, veterans against state militia, the National Guard, or some other force. Although limited to the terrain visible from the grandstand, the maneuvers were executed with realism, detailed planning, and unbounded ardor and daring. Of course, it was a foregone conclusion that the veterans would always win, but the veterans considered such an agreement superfluous—their triumph was inevitable.

One of the hardest fought and most profitable of the sham battles took place in New Orleans on September 15-16, 1883. More than \$7,000 was netted for the two-day encounter which was witnessed by more than 7,000 spectators.⁶

Less realistic, but perhaps more timely, was the sham battle at the Piedmont Exposition of 1889 in Atlanta, fought between Fulton County veterans and a mesalliance of Indians and cowboys before a crowded grandstand. The veterans—destined to be winners by pre-arrangement—attacked in “true veteran style,” and the enemy was repulsed after a strong charge. Dr. Amos Fox, the color bearer, had a lengthy scuffle with an unruly Indian who tried to wrest the flag from the former Confederate. After the staff was broken and the Stars and Bars torn, Dr. Fox coolly told the Indian that, if he did not let go of the flag, “he would kill him sure enough.” With that the Indian took flight and the doctor came out of the battle with four pistols taken on the field.⁷

While the veterans were primarily interested in fellowship of a lighthearted variety, they also enjoyed meeting occasionally in solemn public ceremonies. The dedication of innumerable statues and monuments throughout the South and the widespread annual observances of Memorial Day were the chief events of this nature. Undoubtedly, the sober reflection evoked by such ceremonies served to strengthen the ties of friendship and to renew the sense of unity among the aging Confederates.

⁶ *SHSP*, XX, 157 (1892); *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, Sept. 16-17, 1883.

⁷ Rogers, 23-24.

The early dedicatory programs of the Reconstruction era had an air of defiance about them. As an example, the dedication of the monument to the dead of the Washington Light Infantry in Charleston, June 16, 1870, was also used to show contempt for the sorry state of affairs in the South. A crowd of 6,000 jammed rainswept Magnolia Cemetery to witness the simple ceremony and to hear the address of General Wade Hampton.⁸

As time went by, however, dedications took on a patriotic air. On June 26, 1907 members of Terry's Texas Rangers participated in the dedication of the monument they had erected to the memory of their organization in Austin. Forming at the hotel, the veterans rode to the monument flanked by an honor guard of the First Texas Cavalry whose Captain Rufus King delivered the monument to the state. Five thousand spectators witnessed the ceremonies. Judge J. H. Robertson paid eloquent tribute to the Confederacy and then spoke boastfully of “Texas at the Front.” Recovering momentarily from their nostalgia, the veterans stood at attention as the “Star Spangled Banner” was played.⁹

The grand climax to four decades of monument dedications came in 1907 when the Richmond monument to Jefferson Davis was unveiled. Since the UCV was holding its annual reunion in the city at the time, there were probably more Confederates at this ceremony than at any other of its kind. Davis, the martyr, reaped tributes from veteran and non-veteran alike. Prayer, songs, and a half dozen speakers preceded the orator for the program—General Clement A. Evans—who reviewed the President's career and pleaded for his acceptance as a great American by a united nation.¹⁰

Memorial Day occupied an important place on the veterans' calendar. This ceremony began in the South in 1866 with the decoration of the graves of the Confederate dead

⁸ *Courier*, June 17, 1870.

⁹ *Statesman*, June 27, 1907.

¹⁰ *UCV Minutes* (17th), 117-156.

in a few localities. The task, at first largely carried out by women, grew in importance as the veterans took an active part. Although the day set aside to remember and to honor the dead varied from state to state, April 26 came to be widely accepted as Southern Memorial Day.¹¹ From simple origins, Memorial Day gradually expanded into a holiday crowded with speeches, parades, banquets, and other events. But to its simple beginning it returned as the veterans withered and as memories of the living faded.

Memorial Day, 1890, in Atlanta found the local veterans poised for a busy and exciting time. Following the laying of the cornerstone of the Georgia Confederate Home, the veterans led a parade up Marietta Street. As they sighted the carriage carrying the two ranking generals present—Joseph E. Johnston and E. Kirby Smith—the parade came to a halt. Wild with joy and enthusiasm, the veterans unhitched the horses and drew the carriage themselves. After the usual speakings, the crowd headed for the cemetery where the procession ended at the Confederate monument overlooking the graves of the soldiers buried there. A thirteen-gun salute was fired for the dead, followed by a twenty-one-gun salute to Johnston, the ranking ex-Confederate general. The day's activities were closed by a reception at Major Mimm's residence to which all veterans had been invited. Here the famous generals were greeted again, and a delightful evening followed as veterans fraternized in the reflected glow of their respected leaders.¹²

Seventeen years later the Memorial Day ceremonies had receded in scope and grandeur, not only in Atlanta, but all over the South. In Austin, Texas, where large crowds had observed the day in the 1890's, only sixty people, mostly veterans of John B. Hood Camp and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, gathered for the program in 1907.

¹¹ *A History of the Origin of Memorial Day* (Columbus, 1898), 6-7, 17-25; *Our Confederate Dead* (Richmond, 1916), 7-8; *Mississippi Proceedings* (2nd), 4.

¹² Rodgers, 177-192.

The ceremony opened with prayer, and then there were two short speeches concerning the great sacrifices made by the Confederate dead. In conclusion wreaths and Confederate flags were placed on the graves in both the state and city cemeteries.¹³

¹³ *Statesman*, Apr. 27, 1907.

CHAPTER VI

Bread and Stone

THE OUTLOOK FOR wounded, sick, or maimed Confederate veterans in the decade after the war was dismal. As General Samuel McGowan stated in 1875,

[The veteran's] condition is that of orphanage. The government for which he struggled cannot honor and reward with pensions the survivors, nor gather up the scattered dead into imposing cemeteries, and erect over them splendid monuments to their heroism. . . . The toils and sufferings of the Confederate soldiers were great, but they have none of the rewards usually enjoyed by a patriotic citizen soldiery. . . .¹

From these needs evolved a program embracing a peculiar combination of gratuities. Originating with the veterans, it gained the support of the people at large and finally was absorbed by the Southern state governments. Unfortunately, however, in the early postwar years the people looked more to the dead than to the living. In their preoccupation with the past they were determined first to glorify the dead and the cause for which they had fallen. It was apparently easier to harvest sympathy and money for a towering memorial to things past than for the needs of the living. Thus, the common lament of the unfortunate old soldiers: "We asked for bread and they gave us a stone."

The veteran-led charitable programs of relief payments, soldiers' homes, funeral expenses, and other charities were small when contrasted to the needs, but they prevented

¹ *Courier*, July 24, 1875.

much suffering and hardship. Their memorial projects, although perhaps over emphasized at the expense of charities, helped to establish in the mind of the South the honorable part which the Confederates had played in the war. Veterans themselves, in effect, prepared the way for their states to step in and take over a system of charitable and memorial projects and to continue relief for their indigent comrades.

The first pressing task facing veterans' organizations was the relief of veterans or the families of the deceased. This continued to be a problem from 1865 to the death of all the survivors. In general terms, the organizations claimed to be interested in charitable objectives. The evidence seems to indicate that they took this work seriously and that their efforts brought direct aid in the form of food, money, and clothing to many who were in dire need.

One of the first organizations of this sort was the Washington Light Infantry Charitable Association. Vowing that the memory of the honored dead was sacred, the survivors extended charity to their widows and orphans and to needy comrades.² Over \$20,000 was distributed from that charity fund in the years 1865-1900.³ In Richmond, R. E. Lee Camp No. 1 also achieved a notable record for charitable work. From the founding of the camp in 1883 to 1900, its Relief Committee spent some \$20,000 on widows and orphans.⁴ The Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, Department of Virginia, to which Lee Camp belonged, spent \$2,125 on 685 comrades in 1899.⁵

By means of a bazaar the Maryland Confederate Society raised over \$30,000 in 1885 and invested the money in an annuity fund terminating in twenty-five years. In 1892 the fund produced an income of \$2,700 which was distributed in cash payments to 202 indigent veterans.⁶ Other veteran groups practiced charity on a smaller scale, but in

² *Ibid.*, June 17, 1870.

³ *CV*, VIII, 76 (Feb., 1900).

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 28 (Jan., 1896).

⁵ *Virginia Proceedings* (13th), 22-23.

⁶ *CV*, I, 39 (Feb., 1893).

the same spirit. Charleston's Camp A. Burnett Rhett No. 757, UCV, reported that from 1896 to 1899 it spent \$151.51 on widows, \$95 on sick members, \$15 for other charities, and had \$1,300 in the bank as of 1899.⁷ To combat the source of many indigent veterans' troubles—unemployment—the Frank Cheatham Bivouac of Nashville appointed a special committee to seek jobs for those out of work.⁸

Veteran charity work fell almost exclusively into the domain of the local camps, posts, or bivouacs. The larger organizations, such as the Grand Camp Confederate Veterans or the United Confederate Veterans, could resolve, advise, appoint committees, and direct, but the actual relief benefits were most often procured and distributed locally. About the only way the UCV ever participated directly in charitable work was to distribute circular letters, asking for donations to particular causes or persons. For example, the headquarters office sent a letter to all camps in 1893, soliciting contributions for the destitute family of the late General E. Kirby Smith. Twenty camps responded with a total of \$433.75 which was turned over to the family.⁹ The main effectiveness of the UCV headquarters and the various state divisions lay in their influence and ability to exert political pressure to secure state benefits for veterans. In this way, the burden of charity, which would have become unbearable on the local camps as the age of the veterans increased, was gradually shifted to the state governments.

The problem of caring for the Confederate dead came under the memorial activities of veterans' organizations. Funerals required both charity and memorial exercises. In this realm one of the most pressing problems at the end of the war was the burial of the Confederate dead still lying on the battlefields in both the North and the South, or the reinterment of those buried in unsuitable graves. These were long and slow processes, hampered

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 409-410 (Sept., 1899).

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 209 (July, 1895).

⁹ *UCV Minutes* (6th), 151-152.

by lack of funds more than by a lack of interest. In 1870 the Survivor's Association of Richmond opened a drive for money to bury the dead then lying on the field of Gettysburg. The Charleston Survivor's Association made a donation and also solicited funds from the public.¹⁰ Through these efforts the Gettysburg dead from South Carolina were returned to Charleston in 1871 and buried with appropriate ceremony.¹¹

With the aid of an appropriation from the state, the Maryland Confederate Society gathered the remains from Petersburg and Gettysburg of Marylanders who had fallen in the Confederate service and reburied them in Loudon Park Cemetery, Baltimore, where a central monument was erected. About \$10,000 was spent on this project.¹²

The locating and marking of graves was another task confronting veteran and allied organizations. A notable early effort in this work was carried out by John C. Underwood, an early commanding general of the Division of the Northwest, UCV, who set out to locate and mark the graves of soldiers who had died in Northern prisons during the war. He and his helpers located and temporarily marked 23,552 such graves. Underwood also raised \$24,647.52 and erected a monument to honor the 6,000 Confederate dead in Chicago's Oakwood Cemetery.¹³

The problems of reburial, marking graves, and cemetery care were also in evidence in the Washington area. In 1874 Arlington Cemetery contained 377 scattered and improperly marked graves of both soldiers and civilian prisoners. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia finally removed 241 of their dead, but the remaining 236 from the other states were forgotten until 1898. At that time a few veterans in Washington investigated the situation and formed a new organization, Rouss Camp No. 1191, UCV, to secure government action for the honor-

¹⁰ *Courier*, Apr. 26, 1870.

¹¹ . . . *Re-interment of the Carolina Dead from Gettysburg* (Charleston, 1871), 3, 32-36.

¹² *CV*, I, 39 (Feb., 1893).

¹³ *UCV Minutes* (6th), I, 86-90.

able care of these graves. The group petitioned Congress for aid. This request resulted in an act of June 6, 1900, appropriating \$2,500 to rebury the Confederate dead lying in Arlington and at the Soldier's Home National Cemetery. The bodies were removed to a plot of some three and one-third acres located in a desirable part of Arlington that came to be known as the "Confederate Section." Each grave was properly marked. Completed in 1901 at a cost of about \$7,000, the work included landscaping, driveways, and reinterment. From then on the upkeep of the graves was absorbed into the Arlington National Cemetery program.¹⁴

While the Arlington project was in progress, Rouss Camp investigated the location and the condition of the 30,152 graves of Confederates buried in the North. The findings were set forth in a pamphlet, of which over 5,000 copies were circulated throughout the nation in an effort to secure Federal aid. In 1902 a Rouss Camp committee prepared a bill providing for an appropriation of \$200,000 for the reacquirement of the burial grounds by the United States Government and the erection of headstones, fences, and other necessary facilities to insure the proper protection and care of the graves. Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio was requested to introduce the measure. He did so, three times, until the proposal was finally enacted into law on March 9, 1906. The act represented a final settlement of the problem of Confederate soldiers and sailors who were buried in the North.

The continuing problem of cemetery care in the South also fell to the various Confederate veterans' organizations. Camp George B. Eastin No. 803 of Louisville spent some \$400 from 1888 to 1897 in caring for local Confederate graves.¹⁵ Such local associations were the rule for the care of Confederate graves, except in Missouri where a state-wide Confederate Cemetery Association, founded in 1870, selected grounds adjacent to the Federal and citizens' cemeteries near Springfield and reburied there about 500

¹⁴ *Ibid.* (17th), 2-3, 6.

¹⁵ *CV*, V, 209 (May, 1897).

Confederate soldiers. Total cost of this work, including monument, wall, keeper's cottage, reburial expenses, and individual headstones, amounted to over \$25,000. The Missouri Division, UCV, later took over the maintenance of the cemetery and taxed its members ten cents each per year for the purpose.¹⁶ Subsequently, the problem of cemetery care was solved to a great extent by the creation of Federal parks on the battlefields, and then the expense came to be borne by the United States Government.

A problem that contained elements both memorial and charitable was the burial of the individual veteran. There was a growing need for providing decent burials for those comrades who could not afford them, for a pauper's funeral for a Confederate stirred the deepest feelings of his comrades. To avoid such a disgrace veterans took upon themselves the duty of paying for the funerals of the indigent. Not only did they bear the expenses, but also slowly evolved a burial ritual designed to honor the role of the deceased in the war and to commemorate the achievements and sacrifices of all Confederate soldiers.

Burial expenses accounted for a large share of the funds spent for charity by the various veteran organizations. Camp Eastin of Louisville spent \$1,275 on funerals from 1888 to 1897, which was about 17 per cent of the camp's expenditures for the nine years.¹⁷ The Grand Camp Confederate Veterans, Department of Virginia, reported in 1900 that its forty camps had buried 212 needy comrades since 1887.¹⁸ From its founding in 1896 to 1899 Camp A. Burnett Rhett (Charleston) spent \$520 on the burial of veterans.¹⁹

Some of the veterans' groups formed burial societies as auxiliaries to the main organizations in order to pay funeral expenses. The Fulton County, Georgia association sponsored "The Confederate Veteran's Burial Society." Each member paid 50¢ upon the death of one of his com-

¹⁶ *Missouri Proceedings* (10th), 78-79.

¹⁷ *CV*, V, 209 (May, 1897).

¹⁸ *Virginia Proceedings* (13th), 23.

¹⁹ *CV*, VII, 409-410 (Sept., 1899).

rades. A membership of 100 was maintained so that \$50.00 would be guaranteed for each funeral.²⁰

The burial ritual practiced by veterans was usually a simple graveside ceremony. Proceedings varied from camp to camp, but the ceremony followed by the Barker Camp of Jacksonville, Texas seems to have been typical. There the members of the camp were expected to attend the funeral in a group. Meeting at an appointed place, they marched to the home of the deceased. Then, after the religious ceremony was over, they drew near to the grave with the commander at the head and the captain at the foot. The commander read the ritual, and the members made the responses:

We are to commit to the grave the body of a comrade whose life—aside from its other ties of friendship and sociability—was drawn very close to our lives by a bond of love which was formed amidst common perils and hardships, and welded in the fires of battle.

The ritual continued with a description of the service which the soldier had rendered under the most trying circumstances and in an unequal contest.

He fought a good fight, and has left a record of which we, his surviving comrades, are proud, and which is a heritage of glory to his family and their descendents for all time to come.

After mentioning the trials and hardships encountered by the veteran after the war, the ritual praised his loyalty and patriotism to the reunited country. The conclusion was in a confident vein:

Rest soldier, rest! Impartial history will vindicate thy motives and write thy deeds illustrious. Comrade and friend, we give thy body to the dust and commend thy spirit to God.

²⁰ Rodgers, 17-18.

As the chaplain offered a brief prayer, each member tossed a twig in the grave.²¹

In various ways Confederate veterans and their followers sought to keep alive the memory of the deeds and the cause of the Confederate soldiers and sailors. The means most frequently employed was the erection of monuments to the memory of the individual soldier, the dead of a particular organization, or simply to "Our Confederate Dead" or "The Confederate Soldier." With oratory inscribed in stone and bronze, a message was usually placed on all sides of these structures—an open air history lesson forever on display—proclaiming the rectitude of the Confederate cause, the number of battles fought and won, and quotations attesting the bravery and sacrifices of all those who had served.

In spite of the good that was done by veterans' groups in helping the indigent, much more could have been accomplished had not such a considerable part of their efforts and resources been drained into the monument program. It took many years of small handouts to equal the sums collected and spent on a single monument. In all probability, veterans spent as much on monuments from 1865 to 1900 as they did on charitable projects. The monument to the 114 dead of the Washington Light Infantry, for instance, was completed in 1870 at a cost of \$3,000. It was so badly decayed by 1895 that it was torn down and a new one erected at a cost of nearly \$5,000. Raising funds for this forty-five foot granite spire required eleven years of effort.²²

The Army of Tennessee, Louisiana Division, although spending much to aid the indigent and to establish a soldiers' home, lavished \$40,000 on its monument and tomb in Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans.²³ Commemorating

²¹ *Burial Ritual, Jas. J. A. Barker Camp . . .* (Jacksonville, n. d.), 1-4.

²² *CV*, VIII, 76 (Feb., 1900).

²³ *SHSP*, XI, 257 (1883).

Terry's Texas Rangers with a \$10,000 equestrian statue required a forty-year campaign.²⁴

The UCV headquarters had a permanent committee to further the building of monuments. All levels of that organization raised funds for their particular projects. Starting in 1890 the whole organization devoted itself to the collection of funds for a monument to Jefferson Davis.²⁵ In the year ending April 30, 1899 the UCV collected \$812.23 for this purpose; the total fund then stood at \$20,091.58. Because the goal was far from reached and the veterans were getting too old for vigorous fund raising, the UCV turned the money and the project over to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.²⁶

General Bennett H. Young, one-time commander of the UCV, wrote in 1912:

As a result of the work of this organization, purely sentimental, with no bond except patriotism and loyalty to the heroes of the South, they have caused more monuments to be erected to the soldiers of the Confederate army than have ever been erected in any age of the world to any cause, civil, political, or religious.²⁷

Young's statement could be taken as a compliment, as it was doubtless intended, or as a reproach, depending upon the point of view. A few veterans argued that, as long as there were hungry, homeless, and penniless among them, the monuments were a mocking reproach to veterans everywhere. But the majority probably would not have had it otherwise. Obviously, concerned over their ultimate place in history, they seemingly exhibited an insatiable fondness for memorials that might endure for ages. Certainly, their program of erecting monuments was a success from a quantitative standpoint. Whether the ultimate purpose will succeed remains in doubt, but there is no doubt that Confederate monuments enjoy strategic locations through-

²⁴ CV, V, 195 (May, 1897).

²⁵ UCV Minutes (1st), 4-5.

²⁶ *Ibid.* (9th), 134-135.

²⁷ CV, XX, 260 (June, 1912).

out the South and will continue to be seen and their inscriptions read, even if they may often fail to be comprehended.

The South gained a reputation for strict economy in the post-Reconstruction years. Reaction to Radical policies, and especially to that of liberal expenditures, tended to diminish the funds spent on state services to the people. If the state governments possessed any social consciousness in regard to the needs of their unfortunate citizens, they generally justified their neglect as a sacrifice to the more important policy of economic retrenchment.

Yet, demands for state aid to indigent and disabled Confederate veterans continued to come from many quarters. The veterans were not without organized support, nor were they lacking in able leadership. Parsimonious as the state governments might have been, they could not long afford to ignore the veterans' pleas. Once started, the states were forced to expand again and again their programs of benefits to the veterans and their widows.

Although much of the relief given Confederate veterans immediately after the war came from private and local sources, some of the states attempted to help maimed veterans by supplying them with artificial limbs. This was a project requiring a considerable outlay of funds. It was generally considered beyond the means of local charity.

Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina were among the states providing such aid. About \$32,000 was spent in Georgia for artificial limbs from 1866 to 1869. Maimed veterans were allowed to draw a sum equal to the value of the limb, if they could not be properly fitted.²⁸ Florida appropriated \$5,000 for artificial limbs in 1866 to be used at the direction of the governor.²⁹ North Carolina spent over \$86,000 for artificial limbs or cash payments in lieu thereof from 1866 to 1917.³⁰ The inauguration of the

²⁸ SHSP, XX, 146 (1892).

²⁹ Florida Laws (1866), Chap. 1545, No. 12.

³⁰ William H. Glasson, "The South's Pension and Relief Provisions for the Soldiers of the Confederacy," *North Carolina Historical Commission Bulletin*, No. 23, 68 (Raleigh, 1918).

Congressional Reconstruction plan in Georgia, as in the other states, brought such expenditures to a halt. Veterans could hope for few benefits from the state governments until home rule was restored.

After Reconstruction the Southern states showed a renewed interest in their veterans, and provisions for artificial limbs were resumed. Louisiana appropriated \$12,000 for that purpose in 1880; the prices specified in the contracts were \$80 for an artificial leg and \$25 for repairs thereto. Arms were priced at \$65, with \$15 allowed for repair.³¹

Pensions for the disabled grew out of these earlier payments for loss of arms or legs. North Carolina made the first permanent provision for pensions to the disabled by an act March 12, 1879. Those who had lost sight or limbs were entitled to receive \$60 a year for life. By 1907 this rate had increased to \$120.³² A Georgia act of December 24, 1888 provided for annual payments based upon disability which varied from a low of \$5.00 a year for the loss of one finger or one toe up to \$150 a year to those who had lost their sight or a disabling combination of arms or legs. A Florida law of 1889 was similar to the Georgia plan, except that payments were made quarterly and the widow of a veteran who received a pension at the time of his death was to be paid the same pension during widowhood.³³

Texas was among the last of the states to begin regular pension payments. First, Texas tried a land pension system: by an act of April 9, 1881 veterans who had been permanently disabled and owned less than \$1,000 of property were entitled to bounty warrants for 1,200 acres of land from the public domain. Indigent widows of such veterans were entitled to like warrants. The act was repealed in 1883 because the public domain was virtually

³¹ *SHSP*, XX, 152-154 (1892).

³² Glasson, 68-69.

³³ *SHSP*, XX, 144-149 (1892).

exhausted. A total of 1,979,852 acres was given to veterans and widows under this measure.³⁴

By 1900 the pension program was well under way. In that year eight states spent over \$100,000 each on pensions. Georgia led with an expenditure of more than \$600,000.³⁵ Payment to pensioners were extremely low, and appropriations small, in comparison with those that were to prevail later.

Both the number of pensioners and the amount spent increased rapidly. By 1914 all of the states were paying far above the 1900 level. Georgia still led with an expenditure of \$1,125,000 on pensions in 1914. South Carolina spent the least in that year—a total of \$258,528. The top annual pension paid in 1914 was \$120 in Florida and Kentucky; Virginia's rate of \$30 per year was the lowest. In 1914 the average annual payment was \$57.77 in the twelve states participating.³⁶

The cost of Confederate pensions reached a peak in the years 1928-1931, the sum of \$19,071,065 being spent in 1929 in the eleven former Confederate States. In 1928 the maximum annual rate varied from \$200 in Mississippi to \$792 in South Carolina.³⁷ But where there had been 121,653 pensioners in 1910, there remained only 22,529 veterans and 33,173 widows receiving pensions in 1928.

The amount spent for pensions began to decline in the 1930's and fell off even more rapidly in the 1940's. Where the eleven states mentioned above had spent over \$19,000,000 in 1928, they spent only \$8,642,992 in 1936.³⁸ Coupled with this decline were increases in payments to each veteran and widow—there were fewer to share the funds.

³⁴ Bascom Giles, *History and Disposition of Texas Public Domain* (Austin, 1945), 17; *Texas Laws* (1881), 122; *ibid.* (1883), 13.

³⁵ Marie B. Owen (comp.), *Alabama Official and Statistical Register, 1919* (Montgomery, 1920), 438; Wood, 120-121.

³⁶ Perry M. DeLeon, "What the South is Doing for Her Veterans," *CV*, XXIII, 255 (June, 1915).

³⁷ Edmond R. Wiles, "Confederate Veterans and Widows," *ibid.*, XXXVI, 408-409 (Nov., 1928).

³⁸ B. U. Ratchford and K. C. Heise, "Confederate Pensions," *Southern Economic Journal*, V, 207-214 (Oct., 1938).

Money for pensions usually came from the state's general revenues, from special property taxes or from combinations of the two. Arkansas started selling bonds in 1927 so that the state could pay larger pensions while the veterans were alive and retire the bonds over a long period of time from the proceeds of a 2-mill property tax. Wrecked by the depression, this plan resulted in Arkansas' paying the lowest pensions of all the states in the 1930's. In 1936 Arkansas spent 6 per cent of the fund for pensions, 7 per cent for the soldiers' home, and 87 per cent for debt retirement.

Soldiers' homes were founded to meet a need not capable of being fulfilled by sporadic charity of veterans' organizations or by pensions from the state. A haven was needed for the homeless and especially for those who were sick or crippled.

Three homes were founded in 1884 and 1885 in Louisiana, Texas, and Virginia. Louisiana first had a home from 1866 to 1868 at Mandeville. Opened by the state in response to veterans' demands, ninety-six veterans were admitted during the first year of operation and were cared for at an expenditure of \$16,712.92.³⁹ The home seemed assured of success until the new Reconstruction government refused to renew the appropriation for it in 1868. As a result of the work of the Benevolent Associations of the Army of Tennessee and the Army of Northern Virginia, the Louisiana home reopened February 5, 1884, in New Orleans. It was still a state institution, but the funds for the land and the buildings were raised by the veterans and the management was entrusted to the Board of Directors composed of the top officers of the two veteran organizations.⁴⁰ Also in 1884 a Confederate home was opened at Austin, Texas by the John B. Hood Camp. This organization operated the home until 1891, when it

³⁹ J. A. Chalaron, "Camp Nicholls, The Soldier's Home of Louisiana," in *Official Souvenir and Hand Book, 1903* (New Orleans, 1903).

⁴⁰ *SHSP*, XI, 477-478 (1883); *ibid.*, XX, 156-157 (1892).

was turned over to the State of Texas.⁴¹ The other pioneer state in setting up a home was Virginia. Like those in Louisiana and Texas of 1884, it was originated by veterans. These homes set examples which the other Southern states soon followed. Lee Camp Soldier's Home in Virginia was larger than those in Louisiana and Texas, received the widest attention, and was the most copied by other groups desiring to found a home. It exemplified the general pattern followed by groups in the other states. R. E. Lee Camp No. 1 of Richmond was founded in April, 1883 to help needy veterans. In May of that year the camp, assisted by the ladies, held a bazaar which ran for eighteen nights and netted \$24,000. Using \$14,000 of this money Lee Camp bought thirty-six acres of land within the city upon which was located an old dwelling house. The building was repaired and the home opened January 1, 1885. Donations solicited by Lee Camp were used to enlarge and improve the original structure as well as to erect cottages about the grounds to accomodate more veterans. A hospital, chapel, and a central mess hall were also completed by 1892. The home was administered by a Board of Visitors elected by Lee Camp members. A superintendent, elected by the board, was in direct charge of the home. After the first two years, when the home was financed entirely by the camp, the State of Virginia gave \$60,000 to help support the institution from 1887 to 1892. In March, 1892 the state agreed to appropriate \$150 a year for each inmate for a period of twenty-two years; the annual appropriation was limited to \$30,000. Upon the expiration of this period the property was to be deeded to the state. Veterans continued to determine the policies of the home, however, since they dominated the Board of Visitors for many years.⁴²

The transition from private to state operation was per-

⁴¹ *First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Texas Confederate Home, 1891* (Austin, 1892), 3; Henry E. Shelley, "The Confederate Home for Texas," *CV*, IV, 156-157 (May, 1896).

⁴² *SHSP*, XX, 315-324, 422-423 (1892).

haps best seen in the financial contributions made to the Virginia home. From 1884 to 1896 the state contributed \$173,805.55, while Lee Camp and friends supplied \$149,563.94. By 1900 the state had appropriated \$307,961.67 as against \$158,301.29 furnished by Lee Camp. From private, to a private-state partnership, to complete state control was the course followed by the Lee Camp Home; and essentially the same process was followed in all other states.⁴³

Six other soldiers' homes were established in the years from 1888 to 1893 in North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, Maryland, Florida, and Missouri. The last was in Oklahoma in 1911.⁴⁴ It brought the total number of homes for veterans to fifteen.⁴⁵

Soldiers' homes varied considerably in type and facilities, especially in their early history. Some, as in New Orleans and Richmond, were built on urban property, while the Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas homes were on farms. The Tennessee home was situated on 475 acres of "The Hermitage" property and enjoyed considerable revenue from farm operations, besides raising food products for the table.

The Tennessee veterans decided that the Lee Camp system of using cottages to house the veterans in small groups was inefficient. Instead, they erected one large central building.⁴⁶ As the homes took in more inmates, they increased facilities and services. Standard features came to include a library, chapel, hospital, and a cemetery. Hospitals became an increasingly prominent adjunct as the years passed.

In many states veterans and widows, or sometimes veterans and their wives, lived at the same homes, an arrangement which added to the social pleasure of the

⁴³ CV, IV, 28 (Jan., 1896); *ibid.*, VIII, 117 (March, 1900).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, XXI, 311 (June, 1913).

⁴⁵ DeLeon, 255.

⁴⁶ Tennessee *Minutes* (3rd), 18; *ibid.* (5th), 31-32.

⁴⁷ CV, XXXI, 128 (Apr., 1923); *ibid.*, XXXII, 217, 244 (June, 1924); Zella H. Gaither, *Arkansas Confederate Home . . .* (Little Rock, n.d.), 5; B. W. Green, "The Arkansas Confederate Home," CV, XXXI, 48 (Feb., 1923).

institutions. In fact, marriages solemnized on the premises between veterans and widows were quite common.

In most instances homes never degenerated into the cold and lifeless form so common to many state institutions. There was about them a distinct air and attitude. Far from forgotten, the inmates were the constant object of the good works of veterans' and womens' organizations, especially the UDC. The management had to be diligent indeed to escape criticism from what amounted to daily inspection—official or otherwise. A mere rumor of mistreatment of veterans would bring speedy demands for a legislative investigation.

Soldiers' homes cost an insignificant amount in comparison with pension expense. In 1914, for example, when fifteen states maintained Confederate homes, the cost was only \$518,800 for the 2,376 inmates. In the same year approximately \$7,473,523 was spent on pensions. In 1936 homes for veterans and widows cost \$330,933 while pensions amounted to \$19,071,065.

The number of occupants of the homes started to fall off between 1915 and 1920, but the cost for each inmate kept rising with the cost of living and the increased amount of medical care for the aging veterans. In North Carolina the most inmates (209) were at the home in 1917, but the cost of running the institution was the greatest in 1927, when approximately \$61,000 was spent. The Texas Confederate Home also had peak occupancy from 1915 to 1918, averaging around 365 to 370 inmates, and peak outlay in 1927.⁴⁸

Although relatively inexpensive, soldiers' and widows' homes filled a need that only a foster home could supply. In providing shelter, comfort, and care to the aged and the infirm, the states did a far better job than they did in caring for those on the outside through the pension program.

It has been estimated that the eleven Confederate States

⁴⁸ *Biennial Report of the Texas Confederate Home . . .* (Austin, 1918), 5; *Annual Report of the Comptroller of Texas, 1927* (Austin, 1928), 13.

spent about \$400,000,000 from 1865 to 1962 on pensions and homes for veterans and widows. If this approximates the actual expense, then the added cost of pensions and homes in Maryland, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Kentucky, plus the continued cost from 1938 to 1959, must place the total expenditure for all state aid to veterans and widows since 1865 in the neighborhood of \$500,000,000. Thus, the state governments paid long and mightily for their Confederate heritage. Besides that, the Southern people have been privileged to pay their share of the more expensive Federal care of Union veterans. And now, ninety-seven years after the end of the war, the cost continues.

Epilogue

THE CONFEDERATE VETERAN was born of a revolution that failed. Although he hastily laid aside the trappings of war, he remained a symbol, the human reflection of the Confederacy and what might have been. He was branded with the title "Confederate" or "Rebel" and his every move was watched by friend and former foe alike. In the eyes of his compatriots he had not been discredited by defeat, and he was persecuted enough during Reconstruction to add a touch of martyrdom to his already legendary reputation.

Taking advantage of his popularity and the generally lenient policy of the Federal Government, the veteran began to organize his ranks and openly to state his views. He organized for many purposes, but his central desire was always to vindicate his cause. In his every word and deed he attempted to add proof that he had not been a traitor and that the principles for which he had fought had been just and right.

The veteran was thus a dynamic force among a defeated and despairing people who looked to him for leadership and guidance and thrust upon his shoulders responsibility for the South's destiny. Riding the crest of a wave of sentiment which arose out of bitter war and Reconstruction, he held dominion over the life of the South far beyond the span normally allotted to any group or generation. No other war in American history has left its soldiers such a lengthy inheritance of honor and leadership.

As the trusted leader and spokesman for his fellow citizens, how well did the Confederate veteran measure up to his responsibility? That he was not recreant to his

trust has been suggested. He made many contributions to Southern and to national life. Among them were the following:

1. He willingly went to work in an almost hopeless economic situation, setting an example for other Southerners. He showed an adaptability to the changed order and was willing to accept new ideas and business methods, even from his former enemy. His work in reviving the old and in introducing new industries helped to create the "New South" which laid the foundations for even greater industrialization after his time.

2. The veteran led the Southern people gradually toward a new loyalty and patriotism to the United States. Chastised by battle, he was the most thoroughly "reconstructed" of all Southerners, and he worked honestly for reconciliation and a united country.

3. An inheritor of a public confidence which brought him a long reign in political office, the veteran exercised this responsibility with restraint. His was generally a conservative influence. He followed his own views and those of the Southern people in championing constitutional government, honestly and economically administered. State rights, local self-government, and white rule were his watchwords. The unique position of political leadership he enjoyed was exploited through the Democratic-Conservative coalition. He identified that party with the glory of the war and proclaimed it the steadfast opponent of Radical rule, thereby playing an important role in keeping the South primarily a one-party section.

4. The veteran made important contributions to the preservation of the materials of history, both military and civil. He was certain that, if only the facts were gathered and preserved, his actions would find a just and honorable position in the history of a re-united nation.

5. The veteran used his organizations to aid unfortunate comrades and, subsequently, he secured state programs of benefits for veterans and widows.

6. In an abstract way, the Confederate veteran shaped

the mind of the South. By means of memorial activities he left behind constant reminders of his past. He handed down an ideal of gallantry and self-sacrifice by which any future sacrifices paled in comparison.

The Confederate veteran, though he failed to win victory in war, may be said to have won "a victory of the spirit" in the long peace to follow. Indeed, he grappled against many obstacles, but finally lived to see his name honored and respected throughout the land.

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